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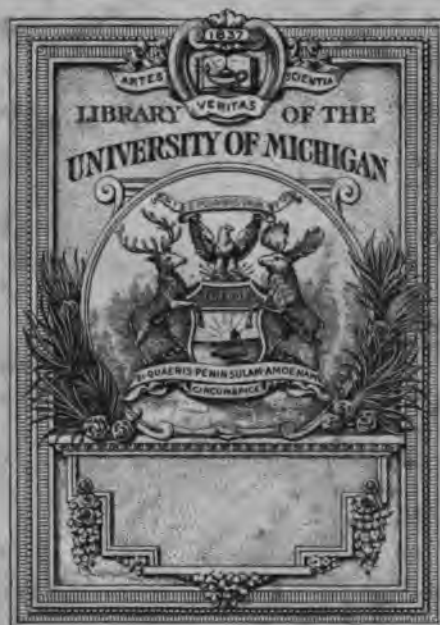
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OUR NATIONAL FLAG; THE STARS AND STRIPES

ITS HISTORY IN A CENTURY

THE United States of America as a nation is the daughter of Great Britain. The National Flag of the United States is, therefore, naturally derived from the National Flag of the Mother country.

Our National Flag is very often called the Star Spangled Banner. This term banner is a very ancient one. It is a derivative from band, a riband or ribbon worn by men of arms, sometimes on the helmet or head-piece, at others on some conspicuous portion of their garments. The color was that of the chief of the band. The word, as Noah Webster, the American Lexicographer, informs us, is substantially the same in the Saxon, the Swedish, the Danish, the Dutch, the German, the French, the English, the Spanish, the Portugese, the Italian, the Irish, the Persian, and the Sanscrit languages.

In the 15th chapter of Numbers, verse 38th, the Israelites were commanded to wear a riband of blue on the borders of their garments, to look upon it, and remember God's commands, and to do them. That is, to remember that God was their leader, and that they were God's band or people.

In the time of Moses there does not appear to have been any National Banner among the Israelites. After the victory over Amalek, Moses set up a stone, engraved: *Jehovah-nissi*. "The Lord is my banner." Ex. xvii, v. 15.

Each tribe of Israel, however, had its peculiar banner, probably of a color according with that of the stone in the breastplate of the high priest, inscribed with the name of the tribe, and emblazoned with devices symbolical of the blessing of Jacob to his sons respectively.

A banner was an ensign, depending from a staff, which could be carried by hand, usually by the chief of the band. Standards, as of the Assyrians, Egyptians, and other ancient peoples, were carried generally, if not always, on cars, or carriages, or ships. The bearer of a banner was usually called a banneret. In some of the Swiss cantons there was formerly a high officer, styled a banneret, who had charge of the banner of the canton. I think these earlier banners had an indent on the edge, opposite to the staff, or else terminated in a point. For bannerets, that is, feudal lords, who led their vassals to battle under their own banner, on the day of battle, and on the field of battle, after a victory, deeming themselves entitled to special commendation, presented their flags to the king or general, who cut off the train or skirt, and made it square. They were then called *knights of the square flag*. These square flags were called banners.

From the time of the first crusade, A. D. 1096, among Christian nations a cross took the place of a riband or band. Thus the Scots were distinguished by the Cross of St. Andrew. The banner of St. Andrew was a square flag of blue, bearing in white the Saltire of St. Andrew. This, the cross upon which St. Andrew was crucified, was represented by a white cross, corresponding to the diagonals of the square. The French were distinguished by a white cross, and the Italians by a blue one. The Spaniards bore a red cross. In the third crusade, A. D. 1188, the red cross of the Spaniards was appropriated by the French. The Flemish used a green cross, and the English a white one. This white cross was used by the English until, having been assumed by the adherents of Simon Montfort, the rebellious Earl of Leicester, who fell in the battle of Eversham, August 4, A. D. 1265, the National Cognizance was made the badge of a faction. After this the Cross of St. George appears to have been adopted. At least it has been the badge of the Kings of England and of the nation since the time of Edward III., A. D. 1327. It still adorns the National Flag of Great Britain. Parker, in his "Terms used in British Heraldry," says: "A banner is a square flag, painted or embroidered with arms, and of a size proportioned to the rank of the bearer." The banner of St. George is white, charged with a red cross. This red cross is not composed of the diagonals of the square, as in the case of the banner of St. Andrew, but of two pieces, crossing each other at right angles; one verticle, the other horizontal, intersecting at the middle of the square.

All the crosses given to the Crusaders were the crosses of the patron Saint of the nation, assigned to them by the head of the Church, the

Pope of Rome. Their particular cross was doubtless worn by the men of each nation on the frock or surcoat, anciently called a jacquit or jacket. In the ordinances of Richard II., on the invasion of Scotland, A. D. 1386, and later by Henry V., it was directed "that every man, of what estate, condition, or nation they be of, so that they be of our party, bear the sign of the Arms of St. George, large, both before and behind, upon peril that if he be slayne or wounded to death, he that hath done so to him shall not be put to death, for default of the cross that he lacketh. And that none enemy do bear the same token or cross of St. George, notwithstanding if he be prisoner, upon pain of death." From this surcoat or jacket, flags, bearing such devices, are called Jacks. The Union of the Crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, since the Union of England and Scotland, 1707; and since 1808, the Union of the Crosses of St. George, St. Andrew and St. Patrick, on the Union of England, Scotland and Ireland, or, more properly speaking, Great Britain and Ireland, are called by the British Union Jacks. Nay, even the *Union* of our flag, the blue with the simple stars in place of the crosses is, by our naval men, called the U. S. Union Jack. So the banner of St. George is called the St. George's Jack, and the banner of St. Andrew the St. Andrew's Jack; and finally, among our Anglo-Saxon speaking nations, especially among naval and seafaring men, sailors themselves are called *Jack* Tars. At the risk of tediousness, I must return once more to the banners of St. George and St. Andrew. When James VI. of Scotland became also James I. of England, A. D. 1603, his subjects of Scotland and England, or of North and South Britain, as they were called, had violent contentions as to which flag, the banner of St. Andrew or the banner of St. George, should take precedence—that is, be saluted by the other. King James issued his royal proclamation on this subject April 12, 1606.

He ordered that both the ships of North Britain and South Britain should "bear in their main-top the red cross, commonly called St. George's cross, and the white cross, commonly called St. Andrew's cross, joined together, according to a form made by his heralds; and in their fore-top our subjects of South Britain shall wear the red cross only as they were wont, and the subjects of North Britain in their fore-top the white cross only as they were accustomed." James was thoroughly a Scot. Therefore, the flag of Scotland was made the basis of this *new* flag, prepared by his heralds. But in accordance with the rules of Heraldry, and doubtless out of deference to the jealousy of his

subjects of England, or South Britain, for their Red Cross Flag, which for centuries had braved the battle and the breeze, the red cross alone was not inserted in the banner of St. Andrew, but the red cross had a distinct margin of white about it, to show the banner from which it came, that of "Saynte George, whych had whyte arms with a red cross. This blessed and holy Martyr St. George is patron of ye realme of England and ye crye of men of warre." This union of the banners of St. Andrew and St. George was called "*the king's colours*." During the wars of the rival houses of York and Lancaster in England, the Red Cross Flag was for a time superceded by the red and white roses, but was afterwards resumed as the flag of England.

During the struggle between Charles I. and the Parliament of England, Charles set up the Royal Standard, emblazoned with the richest quarterings, the Lion, the Unicorn, the Roses, the Fleur de Luce, and the Thistle, &c.; the Parliament displayed the Red Cross Banner of St. George and Merrie England. During the same struggle the Army of Scotland, under Leslie, the disciple of Gustavus Adolphus, had in their blue bonnets a bunch of blue ribands. Their flag was blue, with the arms of Scotland embroidered in gold upon it, and the motto: "For Christ's Crown and Covenant."

The "blue riband" of the Covenanters, and "the polling of the hair" of the Puritans, were no doubt adopted—the former from Numbers xv, v. 38, and the latter from Ezekiel xlvi, v. 20—as emblems of God's chosen people. Hume mentions, Vol. II, p. 304, that the terms "Round-heads" and "Cavaliers" came into vogue about the end of 1641. The latter gave the rabble the appellation "Round-heads" on account of the short cropped hair which they wore; these called the others "Cavaliers." At what time precisely "the blue riband" was adopted as the emblem of the Protestants, I am not advised. In Miller's continuation of Hume, Vol. IV, p. 254, it is stated, that in 1780, when Lord Gordon presented a petition to Parliament against the extension of certain privileges to the Romanists, the procession was headed by the Protestant Association, and made up of 50,000 men, wearing the blue cockade. They compelled the members of the House of Commons to wear "the blue cockade" in passing to and from the House. There is no doubt Leslie brought the buff and blue, or blue and yellow uniform from the army of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, the Protector of the Protestants of his time, and they became the Whig colors. Hume, Vol. II, p. 575, says the names Whig and Tory were adopted

about 1680, after the battle of Bothwell's Bridge. The former term is of Scottish, and the latter of Irish origin. In Sir Walter Scott's *Legends of Montrose*, Vol. XV, p. 33, ed. 1848, he puts into the mouth of Major Dugald Dalgetty, the soldier of fortune, when made by Montrose a Major of the Irish Brigade: "The Irish are pretty fellows—very pretty fellows. I desire to see none better in the field. I once saw a brigade of Irish at the taking of Frankfort on the Oder stand to it with sword and pike, until they beat off the blue and yellow Swedish brigades, esteemed as stout as any that fought under the immortal Gustavus." In I. F. Hollings' *Life of Gustavus Adolphus*, surnamed the Great, of Sweden, p. 106, it is mentioned Gustavus Adolphus first substituted the buff coat, as it was called, for the cuirass worn by Cavaliers. He made light artillery, carrying a four-pounds ball, of a copper tube, re-inforced at the breach with iron bands, all encased in boiled leather, which, when shrunk and hardened, was handsomely gilded and ornamented. He changed the formation of troops into lines instead of solid columns. He introduced the musket of a light pattern, which could be fired without a rest. He also armed his horsemen with a short musket. He caused different brigades to be distinguished by different colors. The Swedish brigades of blue and yellow were composed of Scots. Colonel Monro, who wrote the *First and Second Expeditions*, was the original of Sir Walter Scott's Major Dugald Dalgetty. In another of his voluminous works, he mentions that the Flag of the Solemn League and Covenant, which England and Scotland entered into, A. D. 1643, was a Red Flag, with a blue border, and the motto, "For Christ's Crown and Covenant." The same statement is made in *Howie's Scotch Worthies*. I am credibly informed by an eminent Presbyterian divine that the Scotch Clergy of the Covenant wore blue garments instead of the ordinary clerical garb of black. In an old song on the battle of Bothwell's Bridge, June 22, 1679, occur the following lines about the Covenanters' flag. *Scottish Ballads and Songs*, James Maedment, Vol. II, p. 301 :

"When he set up the flag o' red
A' set about wi' bonnie blue,
' Since ye'll no cease and be at peace,
See that ye stand by either true.' "

The last two lines are a quotation, and doubtless refer to the words of the motto, "For Christ's Crown and Covenant." Sir Walter Scott also mentions that the matchlock men of Leslie's army, who wore buff coats, had the bandoliers or shoulder belts, by which the spanners or wrenches of their matchlocks were suspended, of *blue*.

So the old nursery ballad :—

" Oh dear, what can the matter be !
 Dear ! dear ! what can the matter be !
 O, dear ! what can the matter be,
 Johnny's so long at the fair.
 He promised to bring me a bunch of blue ribbons
 To tie up my bonny brown hair.
 He promised to bring me a basket of posies,
 A garland of lilies, a garland of roses;
 A little straw hat to set off the *blue ribbons*
 That tie up my bonny brown hair."

This ancient ballad is of unknown origin, though itself well known. I have been told it took its rise in England at about the same time that the Royalists in Aberdeen tied blue ribands about the necks of their lap-dogs, and called them "Covenanting Dogs." I mention these trifles, because at the beginning of our Revolutionary struggle there were all sorts of leagues and covenants, called "agreements," &c., among the colonists. The first Continental Congress, 1774, adopted a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement for all the Colonies. The "Quebec Act," giving extensive privileges to the Romanists in Canada, called forth essays, and the display of a Union flag on the Liberty Pole in this city, bearing the mottoes, "George Rex and the Liberties of America" on one side; on the reverse, "No Popery;" this in 1775. At the same time, in the un-uniformed army before Boston, General Washington published a General Order, that as General-in-Chief he would be distinguished by a broad blue riband, which, so soon as the army was uniformed, was replaced by a uniform of blue and buff—the uniform of our General and General Staff officers to the present day. I am no bigot; but the nation is and has been, tho' tolerant of all religions, always Protestant, and has never lost sight of Luther's early advocacy of universal education. D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation, Vol. III, pp. 174-5.

After Charles I. was beheaded, January 30, 1649, the Red Cross Flag, or St. George's Banner, continued to be the National Flag of England. Under Cromwell, as Macaulay says, it became so respected that Rome halted in her persecutions of the "Shepherds in the hamlets of the Alps, who professed a Protestantism older than that of Augsburg." Nay, more, at a mere hint from the Lord Protector, the Pope was forced to preach humanity and moderation to Popish Princes. For a voice, which seldom threatened in vain, declared that unless favor was shown to the people of God, the English guns should be heard in the Castle of St. Angelo. Under Charles II., 1660 to 1685, disgrace followed disgrace. The Dutch fleet sailed up the Thames, and burned the ships of war at

Chatham. The roar of foreign guns was heard, for the first and last time, by the citizens of London. Under Anne, however, for a while it again beamed in mid-day splendor; the Duke of Marlborough by land, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Sir George Byng by sea, being the standard bearers: until May 1, 1707, on the Union of England and Scotland, the flag made for King James by his heralds, called "the King's Colours," became the National Flag of Great Britain. From that time to this, flags bearing these devices have been called "Union" Flags. It is generally known that a ship in distress at sea displays her flag Union down.

At this period we find the Colonies of New England in a great commotion about flags. At Salem, Massachusetts, in 1635, John Endicott cut the red cross out of the flag, regarding it as idolatrous. He was removed from the magistracy, and rebuked, among other reasons, because it was feared that the Parliament of England, which used the Red Cross Flag, should regard this as an act of rebellion. It was proposed to use the Red and White Roses. Finally, in the last month of 1635, it was decided to leave out the Cross in all of the flags. It was appointed the King's Arms should be put into the Flag of Castle Island, where was a King's Fort, and Boston to be the first company. But in the first month of 1636, a ship called the St. Patrick, belonging to Sir Thomas Wentworth, Viceroy of Ireland, arrived, and one Miller, the master's mate, declared they were all rebels and traitors, because they had not "the King's Colours" at the Fort. Miller was induced to subscribe an apology. However, in the fourth month, at the request of the captains of ten vessels then in port, it was decided that as the fort was kept as the King's Fort, it was lawful to spread "*the King's Colours*" at Castle Island when the ships passed by, with the protestation that as they, the Governor and Council, held the Cross in the Ensign idolatrous, they could not set it up in their Ensigns. There was much of political caution displayed in all this matter of the flags. •

The death of Charles I. having occurred January 30, 1649, in 1651 the General Court of Massachusetts resolved that the old English colors—that is, the St. George's Banner, used by the Parliament of England—being a necessary distinction between the English and other nations in all places of the world, should be advanced on the Castle upon all necessary occasions, until the Parliament should alter the same, which they much desired. Hazard, Vol. I, p. 554.

In 1652 the Colony of Massachusetts coined silver money, shillings, six-pences and three-pences. Except the very first issue, which was very rude, they bore a *Tree* in the center, with a double ring and the inscrip-

tion Massachusetts, within it, on the one side, and New England, with the year 1652, and the value of the piece, on the reverse. Governor Hutchinson says it *all* bore the year "1652," when "there was no king in Israel." Hutchinson was, no doubt, correct as to the money in current use. There appears to have been a special coinage of silver two penny-pieces in 1662, *after* Charles II. had become king. There is every reason to suppose it was coined for the special purpose of placating King Charles II. The resolution of the General Court, given at length, Vol. VII., Mass. His. Collections, says nothing of shillings, six-pences, or three-pences—it specifies *two-pences*. They did not bear a tree, "but a sort of shrub, spreading like a thistle." The resolution was passed in 1662. In 1663 Sir Thomas Temple, as we learn from Bancroft, appeared as the advocate of the Massachusetts Colony. As Cromwell's Governor of Arcadia, he had resided long in New England during the interregnum. On his arrival in England, 1663, he was sent for by King Charles II., to talk about affairs in Massachusetts. "The King discovered great warmth against that colony." "Among other things, he said they had invaded the royal prerogative in coining money. Sir Thomas, who was a real friend of the colony, told his majesty that the colonists had but little acquaintance with law, and that they thought it no crime to make money for their own use. In the course of the conversation, Sir Thomas took some of the money out of his pocket, and presented it to the King. On one side of the coin was a pine tree, of that kind which is thick and bushy at the top. The King inquired what tree that was. Sir Thomas artfully taking hold of the circumstance, informed his majesty it was the Royal Oak. The Massachusetts people, says he, did not dare to put your majesty's name on their coin, and so put the Oak, which preserved your life." After the battle of Worcester, September 3, 1651, Charles hid himself in a polled oak, which "a sort of shrub, spreading like a thistle," would much resemble. A writer in the Mass. His. Collections, under the signature S, says of the two-penny-pieces: "All of them, I presume, have the year 1662," and adds in a note: "It may be the letters N. E. were on some of the pieces, instead of the date. The impression is not to be distinguished clearly, but sometimes it resembles the letters more than the date." "At least, he continues, "of six that have come my knowledge, two only are in this particular legible." Mass. His. Collections, Vol. VII, p. 229.

By this implication of loyalty on the part of the Massachusetts Colony, "the King, who was put into a fit of good humor, said they were a parcel of honest dogs, and was disposed to hear favorable things of

them." There is no doubt in my mind this special coinage of 1662, with its impression, not of a tree, "but of a sort of shrub, spreading like a thistle," with N. E. also apparently on some of them in place of the date, and their being of "two-penny-pieces," the only ones of this small value coined, was by pre-arrangement with Sir Thomas Temple, struck that he might palm off on King Charles the subterfuge that the tree on the coin was the Royal Oak, and that the invasion of the royal prerogative of coining money had been only in the small matter of two-penny-pieces for local circulation.

It has been supposed there was a Flag of New England, with a blue field, a St. George's Cross, and a green Tree in the upper canton of the St. George's cross. I have had a drawing sent to me of such a Flag, said to have been found in some old plate of Flags. I would remark *en passant* these plates of Flags are often quite fanciful. The use of such a Flag by New England would have been flying in the face of Cromwell, and of the Parliament, and the colonists never lost sight of the King's "coming to his own again," as the phrase was. Edmund Randolph, called the "Court Spy," in an able report on the Colony of Massachusetts to the Privy Council, said: "A Tree was put upon their coin as an apt symbol of their progressive vigor." A writer in Mass. His. Collections, already cited, as if there was an unusual, as well as usual, name for the coins bearing the Tree, says, "usually called Pine Trees." Noah Webster says the "Cedar Tree," so often used in Scripture as an emblem of God's people, was a species of "Pinus;" may not this have been the Tree on the Pine Tree coins. The first seal of Plymouth Colony, the colony founded on Plymouth Rock, bearing date 1620, bore on its shield a cross, subdividing the shield into four parts, in each of which a man is represented, kneeling in a wilderness and offering a burning heart to God. See frontispiece Plymouth Records. Again, as emblems of being God's chosen people, the colonists of Connecticut put upon their seal a *Vine* for each town or church; at least there are fifteen separate grapevines, bearing fruit, and a hand of Providence extended out of the clouds, bearing a scroll or riband, on which is the motto, "Sustinet qui Transtulit." Conn. His. Coll., Vol. I, p. 251. This colony seal was subsequently changed to one of three vines and the above motto, and is now in part retained in the Arms of the State of Connecticut by three vines, with the motto modified into "Qui Transtulit Sustinet." Of the Colony of New Haven, all record of its seal is lost. But the officers were styled the "Seven Pillars," referring to the seven pillars of the House of Wisdom, as described by Solomon.

In Ezekiel, Chap. XLVI, v. 28, "Zadoc and his sons," having been faithful to the Lord, were directed to distinguish them as chosen. "They shall only poll their heads." From this the Round-heads or Puritans drew the Scriptural authority for cutting off "Love Locks," as they were called. These "love locks" were worn by the Cavaliers, and were quite distinct from the locks sometimes worn by the fair sex, and called "Suivez moi jeune homme," or, as the sailors translate it, "follow me, Johnny." By the same Prophet Ezekiel, a special favorite with the Puritans, as the sermons of those times very plainly show, the vine is constantly used as the emblem of God's people. But the *Cedar Tree*. In the close of Chapter XVII does it not say, "The Lord God would take of the highest branch of the high cedar, a tender one, and will plant it in a high mountain and eminent. In the mountain of the height of Israel will I plant it, and it shall bring forth boughs and bear fruit, and be a goodly cedar; and under it shall dwell all fowl of every wing." Governor Hutchinson says of the date "1652" on the coin, bearing a tree, "when there was no king in Israel." Could the *Tree* on the coin of Massachusetts have been the Goodly Cedar Tree? It is true, the first seal of the Colony of Massachusetts bore "an Indian erect, with an arrow in his right hand," but the motto was the words in the vision of St. Paul "Come over and help us" (Bancroft, Vol. II, p. 347) to propagate God's kingdom among the heathen. There is one other remarkable coincidence. I mention it merely as such, and then I shall return from these flights of fancy to the dry facts about the flag. In Ezekiel the emblems of supreme authority are Great Eagles. Is it not a remarkable coincidence that the chief bearing of the arms of our country is a Great Eagle? Strong winged, but not full of feathers, for it is a "Bald Eagle," to represent America. In his right talon he holds an olive branch, and in his left a bundle of arrows. The seal of the little "Democracie," planted on Rhode Island, was "a sheafe of arrows," with the motto, "Amor Vincet Omnia." Bancroft, Vol. I, p. 393.

The Flag in New England which next challenges attention was the Flag of Sir William Pepperell, under which Louisburg, Cape Breton, was captured on the 17th of June, 1745. For this expedition "George Whitefield," the great field preacher of those times, gave a motto for the Flag; under the proclamation of Queen Anne, 1707, necessarily a "Union" Flag. The motto was "Nil desperandum Christo Duce." This gave to the expedition the character of a crusade, and many of Whitefield's followers enlisted. One of them, a chaplain, carried on his shoulders a hatchet, with which he intended to destroy the

images in the French churches. Belknap's New Hampshire, Vol. II, p. 204, 1791. We learn from Frothingham's Siege of Boston that "Union" Flags with mottoes were constantly displayed, at the time of the Colonies taking up arms, on Liberty Poles and Liberty Trees. At Concord and Lexington, as also at the battle of Bunker's Hill (I use the name by which it is commonly designated), fought June 17, 1775, just thirty years after the capture of Louisburg, Cape Breton, under Sir William Pepperell and Admiral Warren of the British Navy, I am satisfied there were no flags used except such as belonged to regiments or the companies of minute men. July 18, 1775, evidently to supply such a want, General Putnam displayed on Prospect Hill, before Boston, a red flag, with the mottoes, "Qui Transtulit Sustinet" and "Appeal to Heaven" in letters of gold. It is described by the master of an English transport to his owners as entirely red. The most authentic account gives the mottoes recited above. No doubt this Flag was sent to General Putnam from Connecticut. As in April, 1775, they fixed upon their standards and drums, the Colony Arms, and the motto "Qui Transtulit Sustinet;" and as Massachusetts at the same time used a Flag, bearing a tree, with the motto, "Appeal to Heaven," it is more than probable this Flag bore those devices as well as the mottoes in gold. At a short distance Red and Gold or Orange would appear entirely red. Red and Orange are contiguous colors in the solar spectrum. The Red predominates over the Orange in the ratio of 45 to 27° measurement on the circumference of a circle. Hooker's Nat. Philosophy, p. 20.

September 13, 1775, when Colonel Moultrie received an order from the South Carolina Council of Safety for the taking of Fort Johnston, on James' Island, he had a large blue Flag made, with a crescent in one corner, to be in uniform with the troops. When the Turks took Constantinople, they found the crescent every where displayed on the churches and other buildings; and regarding it as a good omen, they adopted it as their cognizance. October 20, 1775, we are informed the Flag of the floating batteries, before Boston, was a Flag with a white ground, a tree in the middle, and the motto, "Appeal to Heaven."

In 1775, without organization, without uniforms, without any National Ensign, in fact, before there was a Union of all the Colonies, much was done. April 19, the first blood was shed at Lexington, and on the same day Captain Isaac Davis and others at Concord gave up their lives for the liberties of their country. May 10, 1775, Ethan Allen took by surprise Ticonderoga, and Seth Warner did the same as to Crown Point; thus the command of Lake Champlain was secured, as

well as cannon and ammunition for the army before Boston. General Washington was chosen, June 15, General to command all the Continental forces. June 17, the battle of Bunker's Hill was fought, and General Warren fell. July 2, General Washington arrived at Cambridge. In General Orders, issued by him July 14, 23, and 24, badges were ordered, as the first step in discipline in the un-uniformed army. His own badge, as I have already stated, was a broad blue riband, worn upon his breast, between his coat and waistcoat. This has often been imagined to be the baldric of a Marshal of France. He never was a Marshal of France. This army was in want of everything. August 12, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts agreed upon recommending it to the inhabitants, the scarcity of ammunition being so alarming, not to fire a gun at beast, bird, or mark, without real necessity. Notwithstanding all these drawbacks, an expedition was fitted out under Arnold, by the way of Kennebec, against Quebec, while another under Montgomery moved down Lake Champlain with the same object. A similar spirit was manifested everywhere. October 18, Chamblay surrendered to Majors Brown and Livingston. Among the trophies were the colors of the 7th Regiment, doubtless Royal Fusileers; these were the first captured colors ever presented to Congress. Gordon Amer. Rev., Vol. I, p. 426. The attack on Quebec failed, and Montgomery fell, December 31, 1775.

January 2, 1776, the Great Union Flag of the Colonies, a "Union" Flag of 1767, already described, with thirteen stripes, alternate red and white for the field, was substituted for the Flag displayed by General Putnam, July 18, 1775, on Prospect Hill. This Great Union Flag was displayed on the day the new army about Boston was formed, in compliment to the thirteen United Colonies. The King's proclamation had been sent out of Boston by a flag of truce, January 1, 1776. General Washington wrote the display of this Flag, January 2, 1776, "far-cically enough," was taken as a signal of surrender. Lieut. Carter, a British officer, explains "the reason why" by stating that it was taken for two distinct flags—"the British Union" above the "Continental Union of thirteen stripes." Whereas, being the Flag of British Colonies in arms to secure the rights and liberties of British subjects, it was a British Union Flag, with a field of thirteen stripes, alternate red and white. In plate vii. of Preble's History of the American Flag, a *fac simile* of the Flag of the schooner Royal Savage, a Continental Union Flag, as described above, is given. The drawing was made in 1776. It was found by Benson J. Lossing, a most diligent and pains-taking collector

of invaluable details connected with our country's history, among the papers of Major-General Philip Schuyler. This Continental Union Flag, on the evacuation of Boston by the British, and its occupation by the troops of the United Colonies, was carried by Ensign Richards, General Putnam being in command of the forces which took possession of the forts, &c., from which the British retreated, March 18, 1776. This was *the American Flag* saluted at St. Eustatius by the Dutch, by order of the Governor, Johannes De Graef, November 16, 1776,¹ as it was displayed from the peak of the brigantine Andrew Doria, commanded by Captain Nicholas Biddle, one of the first vessels procured for the Navy of the United Colonies. It was what was called the *Continental Union Flag*. The stars and stripes did not become the Flag of the United States until June 14, 1777; consequently could not have been saluted as such November 16, 1776.

In the meantime, Admiral Hopkins sailed from the Capes of the Delaware, February 17, 1776. Paul Jones was senior First Lieutenant of the fleet, and raised the Continental Union Flag, displayed by the army before Boston, January 2, 1776, and "the Standard of the Commander-in-Chief of the American Navy," as described in the records of the South Carolina Provincial Congress, February 9th, 1776, to whom Colonel Gadsden, Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, presented it, "being a yellow field, with a lively representation of a rattlesnake in the middle, in the attitude of striking, with the words underneath, 'Don't tread on me,'" (American Archives, 4th Series, Vol. V, p. 568) on the Alfred, Captain Dudley Saltonstall, on which ship Admiral Hopkins spread his broad pennant. The colors of his fleet were thus described in a letter, dated New Providence (West Indies), May 13, 1776: "The colours of the American fleet were striped under the *Union* with thirteen strokes, called the United Colonies, and their standard, a rattlesnake; motto, 'Don't tread on me.'" J. Carson Brevoort, who is in possession of the Log of Paul Jones when he commanded the squadron composed of his flagship, the "Bonne Homme Richard," the Alliance, Captain Landais, &c., has kindly furnished me with a drawing of the flag of Commodore Paul Jones, as he is called by the Dutch Admiral at the Texel. It had no rattlesnake on it. It was, however, somewhat curious, as was that of Captain Landais. After capturing the Serapis, September 23d, 1779, Paul Jones was obliged to pass on board his prize. The Dutch authorities at the Texel were at a loss as to his nationality. By the usage of Great Britain, the first flag is

¹ See article, New York Times, Sunday, January 21, 1877.



the Royal Standard; the second; the Anchor of Hope, Flag of the Lord High Admiral; third, the Great Union throughout, Flag of the Admiral of the fleet; fourth, Great Union with a red field, Admiral's flag; fifth, Great Union, with a white field, Vice-Admiral's flag; sixth, Great Union, with a blue field, Rear Admiral's flag. Hence the names Admiral of the Red, Admiral of the White, and Admiral of the Blue.


Jones and Landais had a quarrel about precedence. Jones undoubtedly regarded himself as an Admiral of the Blue, for his commission, by especial provision, was that of Commander-in-Chief of the fleet; for his flag was a blue Union, with thirteen stars of eight points each, four stars in the topmost row, five stars in the middle row, and four in the bottom row. The topmost stripe of the field was blue, the second red, the third white, the fourth red, the fifth white, the sixth blue, the seventh red, the eighth white, the ninth red, the tenth blue, the eleventh white, the twelfth blue, the thirteenth red. In the official records of Texel this Flag is thus described: "Noord Americaansche Vlag, Van d'Serapis en genomme Engels Oor logs Fregatt thaus gecommandeerd door den Noord Americaansche Commandant Paul Jones, sord Texel binnen gekomen den 5 October, 1779." While at the Texel "Commodore Paul Jones" was invited in writing, by Vice-Admiral Réyun of the Dutch Navy, to admit that, though he sailed under a commission from the United States, it was no less true he also had a commission from France. Paul Jones' reply is so characteristic. I give it from the original in possession of Mr. Brevoort. It was endorsed, or rather written below the communication from Vice Admiral Réyun. It is in the following words, viz.: "N. B. The above is the Proposition that was given me in writing, the 13th of December, 1779, on board the Alliance, at Texel, by M. le Chev^r de Lironcourt, to induce me to say and sign a Falsehood. (Signed) PAUL JONES."

Landais' flag, as recorded by the same authorities at the Texel, may be thus described: possibly he modified his flag to be that of an Admiral of the White, the next grade above the Admiral of the Blue; or else desired to compliment France, the flag of which had a white ground. Union blue—thirteen stars of eight points. 1st row of stars, three stars; 2d, two stars; 3d, three stars; 4th, two stars; 5th, three stars. Field of Flag—Topmost row, white; 2d, red; 3d, white; 4th, red; 5th, white; 6th, red; 7th, white; 8th, red; 9th, white; 10th, red; 11th, white; 12th, red; 13th, white. Noord Americaansche Vlag. Van d' L'Alliance ge commandeerd door Captain Landais In Texel binnen gekomen den 4th October, 1779.

It is possible Paul Jones used the Rattlesnake Standard, already described, but I find no evidence of the fact. The only public instrument in use retaining some record of the part the "rattlesnake" bore in our flag, and on the drums of the Marine Corps, is the seal in the War Department. It bears the rattlesnake, with its rattles, as the emblem of union, and a liberty cap in contiguity with the rattles; the liberty cap enveloped by the body, so that the opened mouth may defend the rattles and liberty cap, or union and liberty, with the motto, "This we'll defend."

June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee introduced the resolution, "that the United Colonies are and ought to be free and independent States." It was unanimously adopted July 2, 1776. July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence, penned by Thomas Jefferson, was adopted. On the same day Dr. Franklin, Mr. J. Adams and Mr. Jefferson were appointed a committee to prepare a device for a Great Seal for the United States of America.

August 10, 1776, this committee reported as follows: "The Great Seal should on one side have the Arms of the United States of America, which arms should be as follows: The Shield has six quarters, parts one, *Coupé* two. The 1st or, a rose, enamelled gules and argent for England; the 2d, argent, a thistle proper, for Scotland; the 3d verd, a harp or, for Ireland; the 4th azure, a *flower de luce* or, for France; the 5th or, the imperial eagle, sable for Germany; and 6th or, the Belgic lion, gules for Holland, pointing out the countries from which the States have been peopled. The shield within a border gules entwined of thirteen Scutcheons argent, linked together by a chain or, each charged with initial letters sable as follows: 1st, N.H.; 2d, M. B.; 3d, R. I.; 4th, C.; 5th, N. Y.; 6th, N. J.; 7th, P.; 8th, D. E.; 9th, M.; 10th, V.; 11th, N. C.; 12th, S. C.; 13th, G.; for each of the thirteen independent States of America. Supporters; dexter, the Goddess Liberty, in a corselet of armor, alluding to the present times; holding in her right hand the spear and cap, and with her left supporting the shield of the States; sinister, the Goddess Justice, bearing a sword in her right hand, and in her left a balance. Crest. The eye of Providence in a radiant triangle; whose glory extends over the shield and beyond the figures. Motto: *E Pluribus Unum*. Legend round the whole achievement—Seal of the United States of America, MDCCLXXVI. On the other side of the said Great Seal should be the following device: Pharoah sitting in an open chariot, a crown on his head and a sword in his hand, passing through the divided waters of the Red Sea



in pursuit of the Israelites. Rays from a pillar of fire in the cloud, expressive of the Divine presence and command, beaming on Moses, who stands on the shore, and, extending his hand over the sea, causes it to overthrow Pharoah. Motto: 'Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God.'"

It was ordered to lay on the table.

The closing words, "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God," are from the epitaph of John Bradshaw, chief of the regicides. They are written over what is called the Regicides' Cave, West Rock, New Haven, Conn. Mr. Hollis, in his memoirs, mentions that he found the epitaphs at length, pasted up on the windows of inns in New England, in the early days of our Revolutionary struggle, and states the fact as an evidence of the spirit which actuated our forefathers.

The original of the following is engraven upon a cannon, at the summit of a steep hill, near Martha Bray, in Jamaica (see Memoirs of Mr. Hollis, Vol. II, p. 789), reprinted in Gentleman's Magazine, XIV, 834:

"Stranger,
Ere thou pass, contemplate this cannon.
Nor regardless be told
That near its base lies deposited the dust
Of JOHN BRADSHAW;
Who, nobly superior to selfish regards,
Despising alike the pageantry of courtly
splendour,
The blast of calumny,
And the terrors of royal vengeance,
Presided in the illustrious band
of Heroes and Patriots,
Who fairly and openly adjudged
CHARLES STUARD,
Tyrant of England,

To a public and exemplary death;
Thereby presenting to the amazed world,
And transmitting down through applauding ages,
The most glorious example
Of unshaken Virtue,
Love of Freedom,
And impartial Justice,
Ever exhibited on the blood-stained theatre
Of human actions.
Oh, Reader, pass not on,
Till thou hast blest his memory,
And never, never forget,
That REBELLION TO TYRANTS
IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD."

Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, Va., October 19, 1781. The country remained without any Great Seal until June 20, 1782.

The "Continental Union Flag," displayed January 2d, 1776, as before stated, continued to be used until June 14, 1777, just one hundred years ago, when the Congress "Resolved, That the Flag of the Thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white. That the Union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation." Paul Jones, in command of the Ranger, demanded and received from the French Admiral in Quiberon Bay, coast of Brittany, the first salute to the Stars and Stripes, as adopted June 14 1777, *Gun for Gun*.

It had been before that event the usage of Europe to salute the Flag of a Republic with four guns less than were fired to salute the Flag of a crowned potentate.

It will be observed no form for the presentation of the stars, in any particular shape, was defined by the resolution; consequently various forms were adopted. Because the circle is the simplest of all figures, and for the reasons following, I suppose them at first to have been arranged in a circle.

John Adams—the father of J. Q. Adams—was Chairman of the Board of War when the resolution of June 14, 1777, was passed, and also, as has been stated, one of the Committee appointed July 4, 1776, to prepare a Great Seal for the United States. When eleven years of age, J. Q. Adams crossed the Atlantic with his father under this flag. After having been Secretary of Legation to the United States Minister to Russia, at the age of fifteen, Mr. J. Q. Adams came from England, where he had represented the United States at the Court of St. James, to become Secretary of State of the United States, under the administration of President Monroe. This in 1817. All citizens, especially youthful ones in a foreign land, look to the flag of their country with feelings and an interest quite different from citizens at home. Mr. J. Q. Adams must have been curious about it when he sailed under its folds at the age of eleven. As Secretary of Legation, at the age of fifteen, he could not readily have lost sight of it. As Minister, it was the ensign of his country among a proud and supercilious people. When he returned, to become Secretary of State, a change in it was being discussed in Congress. In the annals of Congress, 2d Session 1816–1817, the discussion will be found at large. It was deemed inexpedient to alter the flag. Many thought it should have been always retained as resolved upon June 14, 1777. However, December 11, 1817, Mr. Wendover, of New York, an owner of many ships, moved the following:

“Resolved, That a committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of altering the Flag of the United States, and that they have leave to report by bill or otherwise.” Mr. Wendover remarked: “Had the flag of the United States never have undergone an alteration, he certainly should not, he said, propose to make a further alteration. It was his impression, and he thought it was generally believed, that the flag would be essentially injured by an alteration, on the same principles as that which had been made by increasing the stripes and stars. He stated the incongruity of the flag in general use, and instanced the flag flying over the building in which Congress sat, and that of the navy yard, one of which contained *nine* stripes, and the other *eighteen*; neither of them conformable to law. It was of some importance, he conceived, that the flag of the nation should

be designated with precision, and that the practice under the law should be conformed to its requirements." The motion was agreed to without opposition. *Annals of Congress*, 1st Session, Vol. I, 1817-1818, p. 463.


When the Committee reported, there was a protracted discussion, which may be found in the same volume, page 567, and volume ii, page 1463. Finally, the resolution, approved April 4, 1818, was passed March 25, 1818. Mr. Wendover suggested that at the rate the Union was growing, if a stripe was added for every new State admitted, it would soon be impracticable to find a mast tall enough on which to hoist the flag. This practical suggestion determined the action of Congress.

During the time of this discussion, Mr. J. Q. Adams was Secretary of State. The original flag, so far as the stripes were concerned, was reverted to by the resolution of April 4, 1818. The only departure from it was that, instead of *thirteen* stars in the Union of the flag, a star was to be introduced into that Union for each new State on the 4th of July succeeding the admission of such State to the Union of the United States. But in 1819 the angry discussion about the bill authorizing the people of the territory of Missouri to form a Constitution and State Government for admission into the Union began. Hon. Henry Clay, by his compromise measures, brought relief to the country. The Enabling Act was passed and approved by President Monroe, March 6, 1820. August 25, 1820, Mr. J. Q. Adams, Secretary of State when the alteration of the flag to suit the growth of the nation was discussed, Secretary of State also when the Union was threatened, on account of the Enabling Act for Missouri, struck from the United States Passport the National Arms, as declared by Act of Congress, and substituted the figure and device of an Eagle, holding in his beak the constellation Lyra, of thirteen stars, a glory radiating from Lyra into a circle of thirteen stars, and the motto, "Nunc Sidera Ducit." This seal Mr. J. Q. Adams had caused to be engraved in England before 1817. It is now in the possession of his son, Hon. Charles Francis Adams. The last named gentleman is of opinion Mr. John Adams had nothing to do with suggesting the constellation Lyra. Perhaps it never was suggested for the Union of the Flag. If it was not, what could have warranted so great a departure from the universal practice of nations as the substitution of a fanciful device for the arms of the nation on a document intended everywhere to establish the nationality of the citizen provided with it, and this substitution with the consent and approval of the President of the United States, were it not the desire to make some enduring record of the origin of the thirteen stars in the Union of the first Flag of the

United States in the constellation of the Lyre of Orpheus? In this device the thirteen stars are in a *circle*. In the same form they are represented on the copper coins of 1783, and on some of the Continental paper money, with the words, "Nova Constellatio," "A new Constellation;" and, finally, on a representation of the first Flag of the United States, in a drawing to accompany a project for the Arms of the United States, now on file in the Department of State, the thirteen stars are arranged in a *circle*. This, however, is merely an hypothesis, more curious perhaps than important.

I revert now to the struggles in the Colonies. While these were going on there was as yet only a silent growth, no marked fruit of intellectual development, if I except Jonathan Edwards' renowned work on Free Will. He died President of the College of New Jersey, now Princeton College, 1758.

I cannot attempt, for space will not admit of it, and they may be found in almost any school history, all the victories by sea and land won under this Flag of Thirteen Stars and Thirteen Stripes. I may not omit the names of Washington; Schuyler; Stark, whose Mary was to be a widow if they did not beat the Hessians by set of sun at Bennington; of stout old General Herkimer, who gave his life for the cause; Marion; Sumpter; Huger; Light Horse Harry Lee; Benjamin Lincoln, who replied to Washington, on the latter expressing his surprise that the Northern people, with nothing but their rocks and brains, should be willing to fight for liberty, "We fight for liberty to use our brains," and to another, who expressed some fear, "Fear nothing, sir," said this brave old soldier, "Fear nothing but sin;" Morgan and his famous riflemen; Green, whose Fabian caution redeemed the disasters of Gates; Knox; Pickering; Hamilton; Hugh Mercer, who fell, covered with wounds, at Princeton, January 3, 1777, of which he died January 19, 1777; Wayne, called Mad Anthony, the hero of the storming of Stony Point on the Hudson; De Kalb; Steuben; Kosciusko; Pulaski, mortally wounded before Savannah, October 6, 1779; Lafayette, and a host of others; and last, but not least, the determined Colonel Peter Gansevoort, who, when beleagured by St. Leger at Fort Stanwix, since Fort Schuyler, now the city of Rome, Oneida county, New York, replied to St. Leger's demand for the surrender of the fort, August 9, 1777: "It is my determined resolution, with the force under my command, to defend this fort to the last extremity, in behalf of the United States, who have placed me here to defend it against all their enemies." Here no doubt was first displayed in battle the stars and stripes. Colonel Marinus Willett, Lieut. Colonel Mellon, and Captain



Abraham Swartwout, of Dutchess county, were the brave official coadjutors of Colonel, afterwards General, Gansevoort. The blue of the Union of the flag was made out of Captain Swartwout's cloak, the white stars and stripes out of pieces of shirt, sewed together, and bits of scarlet cloth for the red. Lossing, Vol. I, p. 242. My aged grandmother, a daughter of Major-General Philip Schuyler, informed me the red stripes were furnished by the scarlet cloak of one of the women of the beleagured garrison. Such cloaks were much worn at that time in this country. Benedict Arnold here, as at other times, rendered brilliant services to his country. One is almost tempted to drop a tear over the noble beginning, which had the fateful ending of an exiled traitor's grave. On the ocean, Manly, the father of the American Navy, began his career in the Lee. The names of Nicholson, Saltonstall, Biddle, Thompson, Barry, Reade, Jones, Wickes, &c., come before us. In 1776, 342 sail of English vessels were taken by American cruizers. In 1777, 467 sail were taken, and thus matters went on, with many brilliant conflicts of ship with ship. Fennimore Cooper's History of the U. S. Navy. Anthony Wayne, the hero of Stony Point, August 20, 1794, quelled the Indians at the Fallen Timbers, near the Maumee Rapids. The National Flag continued with thirteen stars and thirteen stripes, until the resolution approved January 13, 1794, when Congress enacted "that after May 1, 1795, the Flag of the United States be fifteen stripes, alternate red and white. That the Union be fifteen stars, white in a blue field."

The thirteen original States ratified our present Constitution at the dates set opposite to them, respectively :

New Hampshire,	June 21, 1788	Pennsylvania,	December 12, 1787
Massachusetts,	February 6, 1788	Delaware,	December 7, 1787
Rhode Island,	May 29, 1790	Maryland,	April 28, 1788
Connecticut,	January 9, 1788	Virginia,	June 26, 1788
New York,	July 26, 1788	North Carolina,	Nov. 21, 1789
New Jersey,	December 18, 1787	South Carolina,	May 23, 1788
Georgia, January 2, 1788			

Vermont had been admitted as a State, March 4, 1791. In the same year Benj. West was chosen President of the Royal Academy of Art, London. Kentucky was admitted June 1, 1792. In the meantime how much had been done ! The Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the North West Territory was passed. A government of the people, by the people, and for the people had been framed and ratified. "The Federalist," as remarkable for the vigor, beauty, and purity of its style, as for its invaluable comments on our form of government, had been written

by Madison, Jay and Hamilton. Of the latter Webster said: "He smote the rock of national resources, and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. He touched the dead corpse of the Public Credit, and it sprung upon its feet. The fabled birth of Minerva, from the brain of Jove, was hardly more sudden or more perfect than the financial system of the United States, as it burst forth from the conceptions of Alexander Hamilton." I trust I may be pardoned for this allusion to my illustrious grand-sire. The History of the Flag of our country would be incomplete without some notice of his eminent services. In 1793 Whitney invented the cotton gin. Tennessee was admitted June 1, 1796. George Washington died December 14, 1799. In 1800 the National Capitol was removed from Philadelphia to Washington. Ohio was admitted November 29, 1802. In 1802 the United States Military Academy at West Point was established. Louisiana was purchased 1803. Between 1803 and 1805 our Navy, under Bainbridge, Morris, Preble, Decatur, Chauncey, Barron, Rodgers, Porter, and the gallant Captain Somers, who was blown up (it was never known how, in the ketch *Intrepid*, off Tripoli), with all his company, rendered brilliant service. Of Captain Somers we are told: Commodore Preble having remarked, while trying a port-fire in the cabin of the *Constitution*, "He thought it burned longer than was necessary." Somers quietly rejoined, "I ask for no port-fire at all." These brave men and their comrades taught the Mahomedans of the Barbary States "that westward the course of Empire takes its way;" that a Christian nation of the West, whose Flag even they did not know, to use Charles Cotesworth Pinckney's words on the occasion of our differences with France, had "Millions for defence, not one cent for tribute;" and the enslaving of Christians by the followers of the Prophet ceased from June 8, 1805. The foreign slave trade was abolished by our Federal Constitution, to take effect 1808. (See history of legislation on the subject of the slave trade, in the charge of Justice Wayne, United States Supreme Court to United States District Court, Savannah, Georgia, November, 1859.) The United States Coast Survey was inaugurated February 10, 1807. In the same year Robert Fulton built the first steamboat in the world for practical purposes. It was called the "North River." In the same year the "Leopard," a British man-of-war, impressed three Americans from the United States man-of-war "Chesapeake," which had gone to sea in an unprepared condition.

James Madison was inaugurated President, March 4, 1809. General William Henry Harrison, November 7, 1811, gained the battle of Tip-

pecanoe. Louisiana was admitted to the Union, April 8, 1812. In this year war was declared against Great Britain. The suicidal policy of an embargo had been foolishly tried by the United States, almost destroying the feeble remains of our commerce and dividing the nation. After many disasters by land, the brilliant affair of Fort George, May 27, 1813, in which Lieutenant-Colonel Winfield Scott led the assault, took place. September 10, 1813, Oliver Hazard Perry, on Lake Erie, reported of his splendid success at Put in Bay: "We have met the enemy and they are ours." General Harrison defeated Proctor, October 5, 1813, at the Moravian Town on the Thames. Captain James Lawrence, of this city, in the "Chesapeake," whose original tombstone stands in the vestibule of the New York Historical Society, engaged the British man-of-war "Shannon," June 6, 1813. He lost his ship and his life—his last words were: "Don't give up the ship." General Andrew Jackson crushed the Creeks at Horse Shoe Bend, on the Tallapoosa river. Our Flag was still of fifteen stars and fifteen stripes. In 1814, July 5, under General Brown, at Chippewa, General Scott led a brilliant bayonet charge against the British, and a great success was achieved. July 25, 1814, the battle of Lundy's Lane was fought—rendered famous by Colonel Miller's laconic reply when asked could he storm a battery with his regiment, the Twenty-first United States Infantry: "I'll Try," and did it. At this time West Point began to tell. Our fellow citizen, Alexander McComb, Major General United States Army, was Inspector of that institution. Joseph G. Swift, the first graduate, born in Massachusetts; Walker P. Armisted, Virginia; William McRee, North Carolina; Joseph G. Totten, Connecticut; Eleazer D. Wood, New York, rendered most distinguished services. On the 15th of August, 1814, under Major General Edmund Pendleton Gaines, of Virginia, the British were repulsed from Fort Erie with great slaughter. Here George Mercer Brook, of Virginia, afterwards Major General, won the sobriquet of the "Jack-a-Lanthorn of Fort Erie." September 11, 1814, Commodore McDonough won the brilliant and decisive victory of Lake Champlain. In the meantime, however, the British burned all the public buildings at Washington, except the Patent Office and Post Office. They bombarded Baltimore, and inspired the "Star Spangled Banner." January 8, 1815, General Jackson won the Battle of New Orleans. Many brilliant combats were fought on the ocean. These combats wereso numerous, that those interested must consult Cooper's History of the United States Navy. Indiana was admitted December 11, 1816; Mississippi December 10, 1817. In the same year, through

the efforts of De Witt Clinton, the Act authorizing the Erie Canal was passed in this State, and the canal was completed in 1825. April 4, 1818, the following resolution was adopted by Congress: Our National Flag up to this time had, since January 13, 1794, continued to be fifteen stripes, alternate red and white; the Union fifteen stars, white, in a blue field.

Be it enacted, etc., "That from and after the fourth of July next, the flag of the United States be thirteen horizontal stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be twenty stars, white, in a blue field."

"And, that on the admission of a new State into the Union, one star be added to the union of the flag; and that such addition shall take effect on the fourth of July next succeeding such admission. Approved April 4, 1818."

Illinois was admitted December 3, 1818. Alabama was admitted December 14, 1819. The steamship "Savannah," in this year, sailed from Savannah, Ga., for Liverpool, being twenty six days on the passage. Thence to St. Petersburg, Russia, and arrived at Savannah fifty days from St. Petersburg, December 15, 1819. *Niles' Weekly Register*, September 18, 1819, and *Evening Gazette*, date —, Signature W.

Maine was admitted March 15, 1820. Missouri August 10, 1821. Arkansas, June 15, 1836. In the intervening period, 1831, the first locomotive in America was used on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, under the personal supervision of our venerated fellow-citizen, Peter Cooper. I quote many of my data from Venables' United States History, a valuable epitome. Michigan was admitted January 26, 1837. In 1842, Professor S. F. B. Morse established telegraphic communication between Castle Garden, New York city, and Governor's Island; and in 1844 he set up the first electric telegraph in the world, for practical purposes, between Baltimore and Washington.

Florida was admitted March 3, 1845. In 1845 the U. S. Naval Academy was founded. It was recommended in 1798. We all know the valuable fruit it has already borne to our country and to our naval service. Texas, December 29, 1846. The country went on growing and except the Indian wars, which have been chronic—at peace with all the world. Andrew Jackson, by his firmness, had nipped nullification in the bud. His "By the Eternal, the Union must and shall be preserved," saved the country from civil war. His was a voice like Cromwell's—it seldom threatened in vain. To General Scott he entrusted the execution of his orders at Charleston. Jackson knew him to be a true patriot.

The admission of Texas involved us in a war with Mexico. General Zachariah Taylor, at Resaca de la Palma, Palo Alto, Monterey, and

Buena Vista, sustained the glory of our flag against great odds. Let us pause for a moment, while I rehearse a verse or two of a song composed and sung by our soldiers after the victory of Palo Alto. They found in the caps of the dead Mexicans, who, poor fellows, fell fighting for their native land, a General Order of General Arista, urging his troops, who were poorly subsisted, to victory by the promise of abundance after they had captured the flour of the Americans. Our soldiers also had a notion the Mexicans used copper instead of leaden bullets. The copper supposed to be more deadly. The song was to the tune of "The Rose of Alabama." It had about 500 verses. Of these, I only remember two;

"He said he would the Yankees take
Their flour into bread he'd bake,
But we knocked his pancakes into dough
On the plains of Palo Alto.—CHORUS.

We'll batter down his mudden walls,
Make cymbals of his copper balls,
And dance in Don Arista's halls,
To the tune of Palo Alto."

We did it at Monterey, of which our fellow-citizen, Charles Fenno Hoffman, wrote the following lines; I think them very beautiful:

"We were not many—we who stood
Before the iron sleet that day;
Yet many a gallant spirit would
Give half his years if but he could
Have been with us at Monterey.

Now here, now there, the shot it hailed
In deadly drifts of fiery spray,
Yet not a single soldier quailed
When wounded comrades round them wailed
Their dying shout at Monterey.

And on—still on our column kept
Through walls of flame its withering way;
Where fell the dead, the living slept,
Still charging on the guns which swept
The slippery streets of Monterey.

The foe himself recoiled aghast,
When, striking where he strongest lay,
We swooped his flanking batteries past,
And braving full their murderous blast,
Stormed home the towers of Monterey.

Our banners on those turrets wave,
And there our evening bugles play;
Where orange boughs above their graves
Keep green the memory of the brave,
Who fought and fell at Monterey.

We were not many—we who pressed
Beside the brave who fell that day;
But who of us has not confessed
He'd rather share their warrior rest
Than not have been at Monterey."

Of the operations of General Scott—Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, Contreras, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, Chapultepec and the City of Mexico, over which our flag floated in triumph September 14, 1848, with thirty stars in its union (for Iowa had been admitted December 28, 1846), Sir Henry Bulwer, accredited Minister of Great Britain to the United States, November 30, 1850, at the celebration of St. Andrew's day, in New York city, said: "If Waverley and Guy Mannering

had made the name of Scott immortal on one side of the Atlantic, Cerro Gordo and Chapultepec had equally immortalized it on the other. . If the novelist had given the garb of truth to fiction, had not the warrior given to truth the air of romance?"—*National Intelligencer*, December 4, 1850.

In his turn, General Scott said, in reference to the United States Military Academy, June 21, 1860: "I give it as my fixed opinion that, but for our graduated cadets, the war between the United States and Mexico might, and probably would, have lasted some four or five years, within its first half more defeats than victories falling to our share ; whereas, in less than two campaigns, we conquered a great country and a peace, without the loss of a single battle or skirmish." I quote from Major-General G. W. Cullum's preface to Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy—a most valuable contribution to our Nation's history.

I have mentioned Iowa was admitted as a State, December 28, 1846. In 1841 it was a wilderness. Except a very small southeast corner, the Sacx and Foxes occupied the southern portion, the Sioux the northern portion, and the Winnebagoes a strip, fifty miles wide, called the Neutral Territory between these tribes. From 1861 to 1865 Iowa furnished 100,000 men, bearing arms, to the Union Army. I suppose such a growth to be unparalleled in the history of the world.

Wisconsin was admitted May 29, 1848. California was admitted September 9, 1850. Minnesota was admitted May 11, 1858.

In 1857, Cyrus W. Field, Peter Cooper, and others laid the first Atlantic telegraph cable. The message of the Queen of England, the amiable Victoria, to the President of the United States, was transmitted August 16, 1858.

Oregon was admitted February 14, 1859.

On the succeeding fourth of July our Flag by law bore thirty four stars in its union. A flag bearing these devices is in the possession of the American Geographical Society. It shows how an energetic people can carry out the description Manilius gave of the Lyre of Orpheus: "Nunc Sidera Ducit." As we watch the stars of Heaven, they seem only to pass from East to West ; but these stars, representing the new constellation, have wandered from their orbit, but have not yet been lost.

In 1838, they went with Wilkes' Expedition to a higher latitude toward the Southern Pole than the American flag ever went before in the Antartic regions. De Haven, in command of the Grinnell Expedition, in search of Sir John Franklin, took them to a higher latitude in the northern regions than any other flag had ever been, but the stars of that

flag did not grow dim in the polar winter. Dr. Kane took them with another expedition to a still higher northern latitude; they caught there the glow of the Aurora Borealis. With Dr. Hayes, in the same flag, they went 37 miles higher toward the northern Pole than an American flag, or any other flag, had ever been.

Kansas was admitted to the Union January 29, 1861. West Virginia was admitted June 19, 1863. Nevada was admitted October 31, 1864. Nebraska was admitted March 1, 1867. Colorado was admitted August 1, 1876.

In the meantime, our flag was made more brilliant by the light thrown upon it by authors, painters, poets, sculptors, and practical men who have "endowed humanity with new and numerous inventions"—Gordon, Belknap, Bancroft, Hildreth, J. C. Hamilton, Cooper, Irving, Sparks, Ticknor, &c., as to the history of our own country; Prescott, Motley, &c., as to the history of other lands; Story, Curtis, Wheaton, Halleck, &c., in the departments of municipal and international law; Irving, Cooper, Hawthorn, Holmes, Emerson and a host of others in the lighter departments of literature; Willis, Fitz Green Halleck, Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, &c., in poetry; West, Weir, Alston, Trumbull, Peale, Church, Bierstadt and Huntington, &c., as artists; Crawford and Powers, &c., as sculptors; Terry and Grey in botany, Audubon in Ornithology; Astor, Lenox, Peter Cooper, Vanderbilt, Vassar, Cornell, and many others who have so munificently endowed colleges, libraries, and hospitals; McCormick in his mower and reaper; Elias Howe in his sewing machine; and Hoe in his wonderful improvements of the printing press, which has enabled us to have our profusion of books, magazines, and newspapers—these last the sentinels on the watch towers of Liberty.

I have purposely refrained from dwelling upon the internecine struggle, which cost us, North and South, 1,000,000 of men, killed and disabled, and probably \$6,000,000,000 of material wealth. You all know the indomitable courage and brilliant soldiership displayed on both sides—the deeds of prowess by land and sea. How many hearts also of mothers and widows and orphans bled, and are still bleeding. How Lincoln fell. How all men in this land, this day, stand, not only before God, but in the Eye of the Law, the perfection of human reason, "free and equal." How though in a century many stars have been added, there is no Pleiad lost from the constellation of our Flag.

Like the little colony planted by a woman on Rhode Island, under the auspices of that great man Roger Williams, we have

still, as set forth in its seal, the sheaf of arrows for enemies if they will, but we have also, in our right hand, the motto, "Amor Vincet Omnia."

Francis Lord Bacon said in his last will and testament: "For my name and memory, I leave it to men's charitable speeches, and to foreign nations and to the next age." We owe him a great debt. The world owes him a great debt. Socrates, Plato, and all the school-men, were impracticables. Bacon's philosophy was practical. I have a profound respect for practical men, wherever found. They have made our country what it is. Bacon's philosophy was "to endow continually the human race with new faculties and powers of employing them." "To suggest new ideas and the application of them." "To work efficaciously to relieve human life from its ills." Lord Macaulay says the key to his doctrine, which was fruit, was Utility and Progress. As a nation, whosoever visited our late Centennial Exhibition, or has seen it as reproduced in print, cannot but admit that though the youngest of the nations, we have not been behind the oldest in doing honor, practically, to the name and memory of Francis Bacon, the Philosopher. As a nation, in introducing Arbitration instead of the Sword, "Ultima ratio Regum," "the last resort of Kings," in international difficulties, we have done honor to his name, Ethically and Politically. It was to General Ulysses S. Grant, a West Point man, a man of the sword, as Executive of the Nation, the world owes this step in Utility and Progress and Peace. There are, this day, the Centennial of its adoption, thirty-six stars in the union of our Flag, to be altered to thirty seven stars July 4, 1877, because of the admission of Colorado. As in the Milky Way in the heavens, other fixed stars, soon to take their place there, are glimmering through the distance.

I close with the words of Joseph Rodman Drake:

"When freedom from her mountain height
Unfurled her standard to the air,
She tore the azure robe of night,
And set the stars of glory there!
She mingled with its gorgeous dyes
The milky baldrick of the skies,
And striped its pure, celestial white
With streakings of the morning light;
Then from his mansion in the sun
She called her eagle bearer down,
And gave into his mighty hand
The symbol of her chosen land!

Majestic monarch of the cloud!
Who rears't aloft thy regal form,
To hear the tempest-trumpings loud,
And see the lightning lances driven,
When strive the warriors of the storm,
And rolls the thunder-drum of heaven!
Child of the sun! to thee 'tis given
To guard the banner of the free,
To hover in the sulphur smoke,
To ward away the battle stroke,
And bid its blendings shine afar,
Like rainbows on the cloud of war,
The harbingers of victory.

Flag of the brave! thy folds shall fly,
 The sign of hope and triumph high!
 When speaks the signal trumpet tone,
 And the long line comes gleaming on:
 (E'er yet the life-blood, warm and wet,
 Has dimmed the glistening bayonet,)
 Each soldier eye shall brightly turn
 To where thy sky-born glories burn,
 And as his springing steps advance
 Catch war and vengeance from the glance,
 And when the cannon-mouthings loud
 Heave in wild wreaths the battle shroud,
 And gory sabres rise and fall,
 Like shoots of flame on midnight's pall;
 Then shall the meteor-glances glow,
 And cowering foes shall sink beneath
 Each gallant arm that strikes below
 That lovely messenger of death.

Flag of the seas! on ocean wave
 Thy stars shall glitter o'er the brave;
 When death, careering on the gale,
 Sweeps darkly round the bellied sail,
 And frightened waves rush wildly back,
 Before the broadside's reeling rack,
 Each dying wanderer of the sea
 Shall look at once to heaven and thee,
 And smile to see thy splendors fly
 In triumph o'er his closing eye.
 Flag of the free hearts' hope and home
 By angel hands to valor given;
 Thy stars have lit the welkin dome
 And all thy hues were born of heaven!
 Forever float that standard sheet!
 Where breathes the foe but falls before us?
 With freedom's soil beneath our feet
 And freedom's banner streaming o'er us?"

SCHUYLER HAMILTON

NOTE.—In 1853, in compliance with a request of Lieut.-General Winfield Scott, prompted by an inquiry made to him by the Hon. Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, that a satisfactory reply might be made to a Foreign Minister, who desired to be informed of the origin and meaning of the devices combined in the national flag of the United States of America, I prepared and published a monograph on the subject. The late Hon. Charles Sumner quoted from it on the floor of the United States Senate, and the conclusions I then arrived at have, I think, met with general acceptance.

S. H.

WILLIAM FLOYD

NEW YORK DELEGATE IN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

"The estimation and value of a man," remarks Montaigne, a judicious observer of the peculiar traits of prominent men, "consist in the heart and the will. There true honor lies. Valor is stability of courage and the soul. He, despite the danger of death, abates nothing of his assurance."

These characteristics are conspicuous in the public life of William Floyd, one of the representatives in the Congress of the United States of America, from the State of New York; and a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

He was born at Mastic, Long Island, December 17, 1734. His ancestors emigrated from Wales, in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Richard Floyd, the first member of the family in this country, was one of the original proprietors of Brookhaven, Long Island. His son, Richard Floyd, jr., married a daughter of Colonel Matthew Nicoll, Secretary of the Colony of New Jersey. Their son, Nicoll Floyd, married Tabitha, daughter of Jonathan Smith, jr., of Smithtown, Long Island, and was the father of the subject of this sketch.

William Floyd was one of nine children, and the eldest son. Belonging to a family of the highest respectability and social position, he received an education as complete as possible in those early days. Although the advantages which he enjoyed were limited in their character, he made the best use of them by industry and perseverance; and supplemented them by subsequent study through his long life. At a comparatively early period we find William Floyd the commander of the Suffolk county militia. This position gave him the title of General, by which he was usually known. He had no opportunity to obtain distinction in a military career, as his public duties, from this time, were all in civil life. On one occasion, however, during the Revolutionary War, he seems to have repulsed a naval attack of the enemy, in the vicinity of his home.

He was appointed a Delegate to the Congress of 1774, and from the first was called to serve upon very important committees. Re-elected in

1775, he attached his name to the Declaration of Independence. For his services in Congress he received, with his colleagues, the thanks of the Provincial Convention. Floyd suffered severely in consequence of this patriotic action. His home and estate were occupied by the enemy; his family fled to the neighboring State of Connecticut; and he himself was an exile for nearly seven years.

On the 8th of May, 1777, General Floyd was appointed Senator of the State of New York, under the new Constitution. He took his seat the 9th of September and became at once a useful member. On the 15th of October, 1778, he was re-elected to the Continental Congress by joint ballot of the Senate and Assembly, and served on several important committees. On the 24th of August, 1779, he resumed his seat in the Senate.

At this period there was an alarming depreciation of the currency of the State; and a Joint Committee of the two Houses having been appointed to take the subject into consideration, General Floyd prepared and offered their report on the 22d of September, 1779. This report is remarkable for the clearness and soundness of its financial views. General Floyd advocated an equal and adequate system of taxation; opposed the further emission of paper money, and urged the general reduction of that already in circulation. On the 14th of October, 1779, he was appointed by the Legislature, together with Ezra L'hommedieu and John Floss Hobart, a commissioner to a Convention of the Eastern States, in regard to scarcity of provisions, which was then so great as to threaten a famine.

On the 2d of December, 1779, General Floyd appears again in his place in Congress, to which he had been re-elected on October 11th. He was early appointed on the Board of Admiralty, and on the Treasury Board. On May 27, 1780, he was summoned to immediate attendance in the Senate of New York, and accordingly resumed his seat in that body on the 20th of June.

He was appointed on a Joint Committee, to deliberate on resolutions of Congress as to existing relations between the State and General Governments. At this time he strenuously resisted making bills of credit a legal tender. In this, however, he found himself in a minority. He was also on the committee to draft a reply to the Governor's Address upon the inadequate powers of the General Congress. On the 12th of September, 1780, General Floyd was re-elected to Congress. With his colleagues from New York, he was authorized to designate the western limits of the State, cede United States claims, and to ad-

judicate upon contested claims in the New York, New Hampshire and Vermont controversy. He remained in Congress until April 26th, 1783.

By successive elections he was a member of the State Senate until 1788; and upon the adoption of the Federal Constitution, he was elected a member of the first Congress in New York, March 4th, 1789. During his long service in the Senate, he maintained a pre-eminent position, and was usually called upon to preside in the absence of the Lieutenant Governor. Under the Administration of Governor Clinton, in connection with Lewis Morris, Ezra L'hommedieu, Zephaniah Platt, David Gelston, Samuel Jones, and others, he procured the adoption of a Code of Laws, which have been an honor to the State of New York.

In 1784 he purchased a tract of land on the Mohawk river, which he laid out in farms. Some years after, in 1803, he removed his family to his new estate, where he resided in the town of Western, Oneida county, until his death, in vigorous old age, on the 4th of August, 1721.

Only three of the signers of the Declaration survived him.

He was twice married. His first wife was Isabella, daughter of William Jones of Southampton; his second wife, Joanna, daughter of Benjamin Strong of Setauket. He left a widow and five children. General Floyd was of middle stature, with a manner of such dignity as to repress familiarity. He seems to have had a naturally strong understanding, with unusual powers of observation. He had immense perseverance, great accuracy in judgment, and was remarkably cool and self-possessed under trying and embarrassing circumstances. He seldom participated in debate; but he commanded confidence by his integrity, independence, and fearlessness. His long public life is a sufficient indication of the estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries, and during the dark days which witnessed the founding of the institutions which we now enjoy. His constancy, disinterestedness and fidelity, entitle him to the gratitude of his country.

We may well apply to him these words of Dryden:

"No! there is a necessity in fate,
While still the brave, bold man is fortunate:
He keeps his object ever full in sight,
And that assurance holds him firm and right."

FREDERIC DE PEYSTER

NOTE.—A sketch prepared for the Congress of Authors, which met at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Saturday, July 2d, 1876.

DIARY OF
MAJOR ERKURIES BEATTY
PAYMASTER IN THE WESTERN ARMY
MAY 15, 1786, TO JUNE 5, 1787
Part V

April 19—In the morning, at daylight passed the 18 mile Islands, passed the other two, and arrived at Fort Finney, at the Rapids, 7 o'clock, making one of the quickest passages that was ever known, when the water was so low; only 93 hours from Fort Harman here, which is upwards of 500 miles. Saw no Indian or any thing to interrupt our passage—found Major Wyllys here; commands with Capt Finneys and Zieglers Companies, on a beautiful bank about half a mile above the beginning of the Rapids, on the Indian shore— A very strong defensible fort, built of Block houses and pickets about 90 yards from the margin of the river; beautiful gardens between the fort and the river on the sloping bank, which has afforded salad this some time passed, and pears in blossom; very easily perceive the vegetation much more forward than at Muskingham— The officers appear to be exceeding happy here, having the company frequently of a genteel circle of Ladies, who come over, dance of an evening and stay all night, as the officers have very neat rooms; the men in this country are as in all other new settled countries, no great things, excepting a few characters— Saw Genl Clark, who is still more of a sot than ever, not company scarcely for a beast; his character, which once was so great, is now entirely gone with the people in this country; failed in his expedition

last fall against the Wabash Indians; raised some troops for three years, which he left to Garrison post Vincent, robbed a boat worth a great deal of money to clothe them, and now the troops have all deserted the Post, and he sued for the robbery of the boat. People here say that the goods he took out of the boat amount to upwards of £10,000, and those people who now exclaim against his conduct, converted great part of his property to their own private use. I think the man ruined as well in character as in property—The fort built much in this manner—(*Here follows a blank in ms.*) It is about 3 miles to Clarksville, across the woods, which is a trifling place. Indians killing some few people and stealing a number of horses thro the Kentucke country frequently; exceeding busy all the time I am here, in regulating the accounts. The troops mustered by Major Wyllys to January, 1787. Men looked exceeding well on parade, and very healthy. The Colonel intends hiring horses to ride thro the Kentucky country, and meet the barge at Limestone, which Mr Pratt goes in accordingly.

April 25—In the morning we started in a great hurry, the Colonel and myself, over to Louisville, and Mr Pratt and the Barge up the river; as our horses were not quite ready detained here some time; saw the genteeler sort of people in numbers coming in from the country, each with a young girl behind them or woman on the same horse (the way of riding in this country), to a great Barbecue on the Island opposite Louisville, and to conclude with a Dance in town in the evening; we got a very polite invitation to attend it some days before, but Colonel

Harmer would not stay; only two officers of the troops stationed here intended to go, for the people and they do not agree very well. Suppose there will be near 100 men and women at this frolick; saw some of the youngladies in town dressed in all their finery for the honor of the treat; some of them middling handsome, rich enough dressed but tawdry. Saw the barbarous custom of Gougeing, practiced between two of the Lower Class of people here; their unvaried way of fighting. When two men quarrel they never have an idea of striking, but immediately seize each other, and fall and twist each others thumbs or fingers into the eye and push it out from the socket till it falls on the cheeks, as one of those men experienced to-day, and was obliged to acknowledge himself beat, altho he was on the top of the other—but he, in his turn, had bit his adversary almost abominably, and frequently they catch each other by the testicles—It chilled my blood with horror to see the unmanly, cruel condition these two men were left in to-day from this manner of fighting, and no person, altho a number stood by, ever attempted to prevent them from thus butchering each other, but all was acknowledged fair play. Soon after our troops came here, one of the officers being in a public house in Louisville, was grossly insulted by one of these Virginia Gougers, a perfect bully; all the country round stood in awe of him, for he was so dexterous in these matters that he had, in his time, taken out five eyes, bit off two or three noses and ears and spit them in their faces—this fellow our officer was obliged to encounter without side arms or any weapon but his hands, and the insult could not be got over. The officer knocked him down 3 or 4 times without receiving a blow or striking him when he was down, and would have beat him to death if he could have kept him at arms length, but the fellow getting near without a catching hold of the officer, made a snap at his nose like a wolf and nearly bit it off, the scar of which he will carry all his life—they were then parted. Several other such fracasces have happened with our officers and the people here, which latter took every opportunity of insulting them, and now never cross the river without their swords, pocket pistols, or *durkes* under their coats. I dont speak generally of the people, for certainly there are some very genteel families in this country, and treat the officers very politely—was treated very friendly by Mr Lacasagne, who kept store here. Got a very indifferent Beefsteak at Mr Easton's tavern, all the family going to the Barbecue—nothing but Barbecue from one end of the town to the other. Our horses being ready and our canteens filled, set off at 2 o'clock. Major Wyllys and Capt Doyle accompanying us, glad to get clear of the bustle; stopped at Sullivans old station, 6 miles, where we heard that Col Bullet had returned from pursuing the Indians, who had stole horses and fired on some people 2 or 3 days ago, about 10 miles from the rapids. Col. Bullet pursued them near to the mouth of Kentucke river, and more than probable would have overtook them before they crossed the Ohio, but he had only 22 men, and supposed the Indians was 30 or 40, so returned. Kept the main wagon road and went to one Col Moore's,

sheriff of the county, about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to the right hand of the road and 13 miles from Louisville. Staid here all night; much discouraged by every person, as they considered it extremely dangerous to ride thro this country at present, for they say it is full of Indians. Col Moore had a servant boy taken away by them last Monday, within a mile of his house, and 20 or 30 horses were taken from Bullets Lick, 6 or 8 miles from here, about the same time.

April 27—Parted with Major Wylls and Capt Doyle this morning, who returned; did not keep the main road past Bullets lick to Salt River, but a path to the left hand, as they told us the road was most dangerous; came to Salt river to breakfast, about 10 mile; here we were informed of the excellency of Bullets lick for making salt. It at present belongs to Mrs Christian, widow to Colonel Christian, who was killed by the Indians two or three years ago. She rents it to different people in this manner—There are 5 furnaces of kettles, each furnace boils 20 kettles, every kettle holding about 20 gallons of water; these furnaces she rents for 12 Bushels of salt each a week, which brings her in a year 3120, and that will sell in this country for 2 Dollars a bushel in produce or about a dollar and half cash. It takes between 50 & 60 gallons of water to make a gallon of salt, and each of these furnaces boils between 5 & 6 bushels of salt a day, and can get sufficient sale for the whole of it— Crossed Salt River in a flat just where Floyd's fork empties itself, about 80 yards wide; took the Knob-road to the left of the main road, crossed over a pretty high steep hill, stopped at a Mr.

Overalls, a very pretty improved farm, and got some very good water. Here we were informed that Gen Scott's son was killed, a few days ago, by the Indians, in sight of the Generals house, on Kentucky river, near Leestown; fed our horses at one Hopkins', about eleven miles from Salt River— Got to Bardstown, eleven miles further, about 4 o'clock, eat dinner; saw Mr Cape, and set out about 5 o'clock, and rode to a Mr Parker's, 7 or 8 miles, where we put up for the night. As I have described all this route before, when I travelled it last September, shall say very little of it now, except that there are a great number of houses and well improved farms between Louisville and Bardstown, and a number of streams of water which we now cross, scarcely fordable, had very little water in them when I travelled the road before— Unhappily for us, the house to-night was crowded with travellers; one of the handsome girls, which I mentioned at the house before, is married; the handsomest still single, and took a good many airs with the other travellers.

April 28—Slept rather uncomfortable last night; started early in the morning, and breakfasted at Wilson's, about 14 miles. Got to old Mrs. Harbison's, about 13 miles farther, where we prevailed upon the Girls to let us have a fowl, which our boy boiled; 4 or 5 dirty girls live here, and what is still worse, they have the itch. God help them— Staid here near 2 hours, and got to Danville a little before dark, 10 miles further.

April 29—Saw a good deal of company here; very much disturbed by a Political Club, who met in the room next where we slept, and kept us awake till 12

or 1 o'clock. This club is very commendable in a new country; it is composed of a number of the most respectable people in and near Danville, who meet every Saturday night to discuss politicks. Some pretty good speakers and some tolerable good arguments made use of last night. The dispute was, one side insisted: "That an Act of Assembly was no Law when it did not perfectly agree with the Constitution of the State." It was opposed by the other party, and a very long debate took place— Eat our breakfast here this morning, and set out about 9 o'clock, accompanied by Maj Quick; a very honest, clever Irishman found him to be. Was Major in the Illinois Regt till its dissolution; owns a good deal of property in this country, but lives in Old Virginia, where, I am informed, keeps a very hospitable house; has good acquaintance and interest in this country, and a jolly companion— As Colonel Harmar intended going to see Genl Wilkinson, went down Licks River to its mouth, about 11 miles, where we crossed Kentucky river; a steep, ugly descent to the river, and amazing perpendicular cliffs of rocks on the East shore, suppose 150 or 160 foot high; ferried over the river, and found our passage among the rocks to the top of the hill, and came to Mr Curds, where we received a very pressing invitation to dine, and paid as well for it; about twenty miles from here to Lexington; about 4 miles from Curds turned off the main road to the right, and six or seven miles farther came to Col Crocket's, a friend and relation of Major Quirk's, where we intend staying all night— Col Crocket was a Major in the Virginia Line last war; treated us extremely

kind indeed, a man very much respected and esteemed here; has a most excellent farm, and very well improved—

April 30—Slept very comfortable last night, got our breakfast in the morning and set out, accompanied by our friend, the Major, and Col Crocket, the latter having business 5 or 6 mile of the road we are going. Stopped at a very beautiful improved farm 4 miles from Col Crocket's where one Craig lives in an excellent stone house, (the only one I believe in all the settlement) is a Baptist preacher, and all the family very religious; must here remark that a greater part of the people in all this country are Baptists, and opposed to the other part of the community, which has no religion at all, and am informed that these Baptists are a very superstitious, hypocritical set, leading away all the lower class of people, Negroes, Servants, etc. Soon after leaving here Col Crocket left us, and we went on to Lexington, 10 or 12 miles from Col Crocket's—staid here to dine—did not go to Genl Wilkinson's, for Col Crocket told us that the day before yesterday he had left home on his way to Kaskaskais by water. Saw two Indian Prisoner boys here, who were brought from Danville, I think, for a cruel purpose, which was to be hunted by dogs, to teach them to follow Indians hereafter. There is a number of Indian Women and children at Danville, taken prisoners by Col Logan in the Shawness towns last fall, the men were all killed they could catch. Col Logan is much blamed in the country for suffering King Melunthy, of the Shawness, to be killed, after being prisoner some time; but for the other murdering he got credit, altho'

Congress had treated with them and taken them under protection. Had the pleasure of Major Reese, Capt Pierce Butler, Mr Barr and other company, drank some very bad wine indeed. Set out from here about 4 o'clock, accompanied by Mr Barr, Major Reese, and Major Quirks, all pretty well in for it. Mr Barr took us 3 or 4 miles out of our way to see his plantations, and Major Quirks left us with regret, being obliged to return to Louisville on business; got to Bryants Station, 5 or 6 miles from Lexington, a little before dark, when Major Reese and Mr Barr returned. Got in company with a set of those Baptists, who plagued us intolerably with their religion.

May 1.—Sick this morning drinking bad wine yesterday. Set out early in the morning and rode 5 miles to Grants Station to Breakfast; soon after leaving Grants overtook about 30 militia and 8 or 10 waggons going to Limestone for some arms, which old Virginia has sent to them for defence of their country; rode 15 miles to McClellans, where we dined, and 15 more to the Blue Licks or Licking river, where we got about sundown. Unhappily for Col Lyons was not at home, but was treated very well by a young man who kept his house; was much disturbed by the militia arriving about 9 o'clock and making a confounded noise. Still boiling salt here in 30 or 40 kettles.

May 2—The militia all up by daylight, and with their usual noise of drinking drams and firing their rifles left us; we breakfasted and set out at half past 8 o'clock, my horse exceeding tired, which obliged the Colonel and me to take turns

in walking. Halted 10 miles from Blue Licks to feed our horses,—no houses between the Blue Licks and the new town called Washington, 18 miles; had to carry corn for our horses; passed the militia again and got to the new town to dinner about 3 o'clock, where we staid some time to let the militia and their waggons get to Limestone, which is only about 5 miles from here, and arrived at Limestone ourselves about 6 o'clock, where much to our satisfaction we found Mr Pratt and the Barge, having arrived here the evening before last. He made one of the quickest passages from the Rapids here that was ever known. It is counted 240 or 250 miles, and he began his tour April 26th, at 10 o'clock in the morning, and got here on the evening of the 30th, in less than five days without the assistance of a sail for 10 miles. Have a much more favorable opinion of Kentucky now, than when I travelled it before, as I saw it then to every disadvantage, such as sickly people, no herbage, little water; which gave everything an unfavorable appearance; now I see it in its greatest perfection, for the hot sun has not yet dried up the waters, nor stagnated or putrified any pools to increase sickness, but in the full bloom of spring every thing has put forth, and the herbage is a foot high throughout all the country. Natural pastures of the finest clover you will travel thro' for days together, and every once and a while refresh yourself at a cooling spring.

The stout, tall Oak, with the shell Bark Hickory, Poplar, Maple, &c., is but the second rate land, but when you see the mighty Black Walnuts, numberless wild Cherry trees, and honey Locust, &c.,

which is very common near Danville, and from Kentucky river on the waters of Elkhorn to Lexington and so beyond, every once and a while with difficulty peeping thro' large cane Brakes, you would think you had got into a second Paradise, and nature left you nothing to wish for. Stock of all kind increase very fast, and there is no necessity for keeping them up or foddering any part of the winter, for even when the snow is on the ground they feast deliciously on the Cane Brakes. It is undoubtedly one of the finest countries for cultivation that ever I saw, but in dry seasons there is very little water, which naturally leads to sickness. At Limestone a few Shawness Indians have come in with five or six prisoners, to exchange for some of theirs at Danville; this business is transacted by the people themselves, who take prisoners and exchange them at pleasure, and if Mr Wolfe (who is chief of the Indians here) don't look sharp, he and his people will be caught in a trap that they won't soon extricate themselves from, and even if the Wolf should escape the snare, some of our innocent sheep will suffer, before he returns to his town, so I don't know which is the worse the Indians or the people of this country.

May 3—Col Harmar went over to see the Indians this morning in the Barge, accompanied by Colonels Boon and Patterson, who is about the exchange of prisoners; fetched several of the Indians over to Limestone with us, and a handsome prisoner girl, I suppose about 16 or 17 years old, who has been prisoner a long time; her father met her on the Bank in the most affectionate manner, but she did not know him, nor could she

speaking any English, but seemed a good deal surprised when she was told that was her father, and much more dejected when she found she was to be taken from the Indians, perhaps forever— Left Limestone at 10 o'clock, and lay all night at anchor a few miles above the 3^d Island from Limestone; perhaps went to-day 25 miles.

May 4—Set off early, rowed easy, and reached the mouth of Sciota a little before sundown, where we lay all night— about 35 miles to-day.

May 5—Had a very severe storm last night of thunder, lightning, rain and wind. The Barge rode it out tolerable well; we only got a little wet— These kind of storms are frequent on the Ohio river, but seldom last more than 15 or 20 minutes— Water rising to-day a little, and very strong; went about 30 miles.

May 6—Middling strong water; passed Great and Little Sandy rivers; about sundown passed the Guyandot, and lay all night about five miles above it— 35 miles to-day, or more.

May 7—Got to Great Kenhawa this evening, about 9 o'clock; a hard days row; suppose 35 miles.

May 8—Did not leave Kenhawa till 10 o'clock, but it is very still water to the little Falls— Got within 6 or 7 miles of them this evening— Suppose to go to-day 33 or 34 miles—

May 9—River rose again yesterday; hard water over the little Falls and above; lay all night a little below Devil Hole Creek— Went to-day 33 or 34 miles.

May 10—Started early; halted a few minutes at Bellville, where the Colonel determined to make the garrison, if possible, to-night— The men pulled exceedingly hard all day, and at 11 o'clock at

night reached Fort Harmar—all well—Major Hamtramck has commanded here in the Colonels absence. Hear that the Indians have killed a family on Fish Creek, about two weeks ago, named Sims; also hear that the troops, raising and raised in the Eastern States, are all discharged. Received orders to collect the accounts of the Regt as soon as possible, and proceed to New York, to obtain a settlement for the troops to January 1st, 1787—

May 15—Left Fort Harmar 4 o'clock in the afternoon in the Barge, with Major Hamtramck on my way to New York, and arrived at Fort Steuben the 19th, about 8 o'clock in the morning. Met Capt Strong going to Muskingum. The Indians about a week ago killed one Purdy and his family, within a mile of Wheelin; all the people on the river moved into stations.

May 24—Left Fort Steuben early in the morning with Capt Mercer and Mr Schuyler in a boat. Major Hamtramck has got orders from Colonel Harmar to evacuate his garrison immediately, and take his troops to Fort Harmar. Suppose that some of the Regts are going to the Rapids, and more than probable a position will be taken on the Wabash. Arrived at Fort McIntosh this evening, night rather, as I suppose it was 12 or 1 o'clock.

May 25—Stayed with Capt Furguson to day and

May 26—Rode to Fort Pitt—from unavoidable accidents was prevented leaving here for New York till

June 5—In the morning, when I set out; and God send I may succeed in all my wishes, and have a safe return, says

E. BEATTY

DIARY
OF GOVERNOR SAMUEL WARD
DELEGATE FROM RHODE ISLAND
IN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, 1774-1776

Part I

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—The halo of glory with which the imagination encircles the heads of our forefathers of the American Revolution, excites a tribute of praise that cannot be exaggerated. Such God-fearing, noble men deserve all the grateful homage that we pay to their memories. The purity of motive, the heroic stainlessness of soul that characterized them, should rouse us to an honorable emulation. It is well that such men lived, to transmit such a record of exalted lives to ennoble our ideal of human nature. The patriots who formed the Continental Congress, who chose George Washington for Commander-in-Chief, and defied the arbitrary tyranny of their hitherto loved mother country, were actuated by the noblest purposes. Among their laurelled ranks we find the name of one whose memory Rhode Island cherishes with profound respect and admiration; Governor Samuel Ward of that Colony. This high-minded statesman was born in Newport, R. I., May 27, 1725. The second son of Governor Richard Ward, of an ancient family settled in that Colony; he also claimed descent from the celebrated Roger Williams. Receiving a very thorough education, and residing in Newport until he was twenty years of age, he then removed to Westerly, R. I., married Anna Ray, and established himself in active agricultural and mercantile pursuits, in which he was very

successful. He rapidly rose to prominence and wealth, and numbered among his friends the distinguished philosopher, Benjamin Franklin, who long maintained a correspondence with Samuel Ward's sister-in-law, Catharine Ray. In 1756, Mr. Ward was elected from Westerly to the General Assembly of Rhode Island, and acquired great distinction in that body during the ensuing three years, speedily winning for himself the commanding influence and respect that his noble character and talents deserved. In 1758, during the French war, he was one of the two delegates representing Rhode Island in the Convention, called at Hartford by the Earl of Loudon, to settle the quotas of New England troops. In 1761, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Colony, and in May, 1762, while holding this office, was elected Governor. In 1764, he became one of the original trustees of Rhode Island College, now Brown University, exerting himself actively in its foundation. His son, Lieut. Colonel Samuel Ward, was graduated with high honors in one of its earliest classes. In 1765, he was re-elected Governor, and immediately took a strong stand against the oppressive Stamp Act, as soon as passed by Parliament. The Governors of all the Colonies but one took the oath to enforce this odious measure: "Samuel Ward, 'the Governor of Rhode Island, stood alone in his patriotic refusal,'" say the historians Bancroft and Arnold. Mr. Ward was re-elected Governor the following year, residing in Newport while in office. After the expiration of his third term, he returned to Westerly, where he remained until 1774, closely watching events, and

addressing the most eloquent and patriotic letters to animate his countrymen in the cause of liberty. On the 15th of June, 1774, Samuel Ward and Stephen Hopkins were elected the first delegates from any Colony to the Continental Congress. That remarkable body of patriots met in Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. Governor Ward's diary will relate its own story. It will be seen that he constantly presided over Congress, as chairman when in Committee of the Whole, from May 19, 1775, to March 13, 1776. He was a member of the standing Committee of Claims, chairman of the important secret committee, and, in addition, was appointed on a great number of special committees. As chairman of the Committee of the Whole, he reported in favor of electing a General for the Continental forces, June 15, 1775, the choice of Congress unanimously falling on Colonel George Washington, then, as before, a delegate from Virginia, and with whom Governor Ward had become intimately acquainted. What is preserved of their subsequent correspondence is very interesting.

JOHN WARD

New York City.

DIARY—FIRST CONGRESS.—"Arrived in Philadelphia 30th August, 1774, in the evening.—August 31st. In the forenoon the Delegates from South Carolina and some gentlemen of the City came to see me, soon after the Delegates from Boston, New Hampshire and of the City (save those of the town), and the *Farmer* (Mr. John Dickinson), in the

afternoon several gentlemen of the City; Mr. Hopkins and Lady and the Delegates from Connecticut arrived. September 1st. The Delegates from New Jersies, and two from the Province of New York arrived; conversed with many Delegates, and at evening had a meeting at the New Tavern, and took a list of those present, in all twenty-five.—2d. Four of the Delegates from Virginia, and one from the lower Counties (Delaware) arrived; met in the evening. Bells rang.—3d. The Delegates from Maryland arrived. (Frequent conversations.)—4th. More Delegates from Virginia.—5th. Met at the New Tavern; went to Carpenter's Hall, and, liking the place, agreed to hold the Congress there; took a list of the Delegates, chose the Honorable Peyton Randolph Esq. President, and Mr. Charles Thompson Secretary; read the appointments of the Delegates; considered of the manner of each Colony's voting and rules for regulating the business; but adjourned until ten o'clock to-morrow.—6th. Met at ten o'clock, each Colony to have one vote. No person to speak twice without leave of the Congress. No question of importance to be determined the same day as proposed, unless by consent; To keep the proceedings secret, until it shall be determined to make them public. A Committee to state the rights of the Colonies, the violations, and the means of redress, etc. A Committee to report the Statutes affecting trade. Mr. Duché desired to open by prayer to-morrow at nine o'clock. Use of the library offered and thanks returned. (About two o'clock an account arrived of the troops and fleets cannonading the town of Boston, etc., which occasioned an

adjournment to five o'clock, P. M.,)—Sept. 7th. Mr. Duché read prayers and lessons, and concluded with one of the most sublime, catholic, well-adapted prayers I ever heard. Thanks for it, and presented by Mr. Cushing and Mr. Ward. A Committee of two from each Colony appointed to prepare a statement of the rights of the Colonists, the infringements of those rights and the means of redress. A committee to report what Acts of Parliament affect the trade of the Colonies. (45 members present.) Door keepers appointed.—8th. The Committees met, entered into the subject, and adjourned. Accounts arrived that the news from Boston was not true.—9th. The Committee met, agreed to found our rights upon the laws of Nature, the principles of the English Constitution, and charters and compacts; ordered a Sub-Committee to draw up a Statement of Rights.—10th. Met, added two to the Sub-Committee; which sat, and considered the subject, and adjourned to nine o'clock on Monday.—12th. The Sub-Committee met, made some progress in stating the Rights and adjourned. (Some North Carolina Delegates arrived.)—13th. The Sub-Committee met and went on with the business, and adjourned.—14th. The Sub-Committee met, and reported to the great Committee, who appointed next morning for the consideration of the report. A Sub-Committee appointed to state the infringements of our rights.—15th. The large Committee met, went on with the report, and adjourned.—16th. The large Committee met, resumed the business and adjourned.—17th. The Congress met, considered the

situation and conduct of the County of Suffolk, approved their conduct, and recommended to them to persevere according to their Resolutions, as formed at a late County meeting; and recommended to the several Colonies to continue donations as long as necessary. (Mr. Hopkins sick.)—19th. The Congress met, and resumed the business, and adjourned. The Committee met, resumed the consideration of Rights, and adjourned. (Mr. Hopkins sick.)—20th. The Committee met, resumed etc., and adjourned. (Mr. Hopkins sick.)—21st. The Committee met, resumed, and adjourned. (Mr. Hopkins sick.) Desired a Congress to be held.—22d. The Congress met, made and ordered public a request to the merchants not to import, and also to direct a delay of orders already sent, until the Congress came to resolutions on that point. The Committee met afterwards.—23d. The Committee met and considered grievances, and adjourned.—24th. Congress met, considered rights, grievances, and ways and means, and adjourned.—26th. The Congress met, agreed upon non-importation, and adjourned.—27th. Congress met and considered non-importation and non-exportation.—28th. The Congress met. A plan of union between Great Britain and the Colonies presented by Mr. Galloway, considered, not committed, but ordered to lie on the table.—29th. The Congress met, considered a non-importation of all dutiable goods, and a non-exportation to Great Britain, and adjourned.—30th. The Congress met, went on with Means, etc. October 1st. The Congress met, went on with Ways and Means. A new member from New York.—3d. The Congress met, considered the Address to the King, and adjourned.—4th. Met, and gave instructions to the Committees for addressing, etc.—5th. Met, and gave another instruction, considered of non-importation.—6th. Met, considered non-importation of some dutied articles, and prohibited it. Non-exportation of particular articles dropped. Received letters by express from Boston, laying before us the distressed state of the town, and desiring our advice. Referred until to-morrow.—7th. Met, and appointed a Committee to write to General Gage; and the Committee of Correspondence considered the instructions to be given the Committee.—8th. Met. The Committee reported a letter to the General, which was recommitted, and reported again at six o'clock. Not being a Quorum from some Colonies, we adjourned.—10th. Met, and gave instructions to the Committee, and approved a letter to Gage.—11th. Met, finished the resolves relative to the Massachusetts, and dismissed the Express.—12th. Met, considered the Bill of Rights.—(That relative to Statutes, and that mentioning our Fathers having not forfeited by emigration, etc., I did not like.)—13th. Met. considered of the right of Parliament to regulate trade. (Mr. Hopkins for some of the modes proposed. I was for none.)—14th. Met, pursued the subject, adopted a plan founded on consent.—15th. Met, considered grievances.—17th. Met, enumerated grievances. Articles of non-importation considered. Mr. Dickinson joined us.—18th. Met, completed the Association, read the memorial to the People of England.—19th.

Met, and read the memorial to the Americans.—20th. Met, considered the memorial, and signed the Association.—21st. Met, entered into several resolves, re-committed the petition to the King.—22d. Met, dismissed the plan for a union, etc., (Mr. Hopkins for the plan, I against it), read several letters, etc.—24th. Met, read, and recommitted the letter to Canada; read the address to the King; gave directions for printing the proceedings.—25th. Met, appointed letters to be written to Georgia, etc., made some resolves, ordered a piece of plate for the Secretary, £50 sterling.—26th. Met, signed the petition to the King, finished the memorial to Canada, and some other matters and rose.—27th. Settled my accounts, etc.—28th. Rainy.—29th. Set out for home, dined in Bristol, at Wyse's, and lodged in Princetown, at one Mr. Hayes'.—30th. Pursued my journey, dined at Woodbridge, at Dawson's, lodged at Elizabethtown, at Graham's.—31st. Pursued my journey, dined at S——, lodged at Kingsbridge, at Caleb Hyatt's, and left my mare there (sadly foundered).—Nov, 1st. Went on, dined at Dr. Haviland's, in Rye, 31 miles from New York, lodged at Quintard's, in Norwalk,—2d. Pursued my journey, dined at Capt. Benjamin's, in Stratford, and lodged at Burr's, in New Haven. The General Assembly sitting approved the proceedings of the Congress, etc.—3d. Pursued my journey, dined at Stone's, in Guilford, and lodged at Parson's, in Lyme.—4th. Pursued my journey, dined at Thomas Allen's, at New London, and got home (at Westerly) at dark.

QUINIBEQUY

A CHAPTER FROM CHAMPLAIN'S VOYAGES,
*Translated from the text of 1632, for the Magazine of
American History*

Skirting the coast to the westward (from Norumbegue) the mountains of Bedabedec were passed, and we perceived the mouth of the river, which large vessels may enter, but within which there are several reefs which must be avoided—the lead in hand—making about eight leagues; hugging the coast to the westward, we passed a number of islands and rocks which jut out a league into the sea, until we came to an island ten leagues distant from Quinibequy, where at its opening there is an island of considerable elevation, which we called the Tortoise, and between this and the main land there are some scattered rocks which are covered at high tide; nevertheless, the sea is seen breaking over them. The island of the Tortoise and the river are south-west and north-north-west. At the mouth of the river there are two islands of equal size which make the channel, one on one side, and one on the other, and about three hundred feet within there are two rocks upon which there is no wood, but only a little grass. We dropped anchor at three hundred feet from the mouth, where there are five or six fathoms of water. I resolved to go up to see the head of the river, and the Savages who lived upon it. After some leagues, our vessel was nearly lost upon a rock which we scraped in our passage. Further on we found two canoes which had come out in pursuit of birds, most of which moult in this season of the year, and can not fly. We hailed

these Savages, who guided us—and going further on, to visit their captain whom they call Manthoumermer, after making seven or eight leagues, we passed by sundry islands, straits and streams which empty into the river, where I saw some fine meadow land: and coasting along an island about four leagues length they brought us to the place where their chief was with twenty-five or thirty savages, who, as soon as he saw that we had cast anchor, came to us in a canoe, a little apart from five others, in which his companions were. Approaching near to our vessel, he made us a speech in which he made us to understand how delighted he was to see us, and that he desired our alliance, and to make peace with their enemies by our help, and saying that the next day he would send word to two other Savage Captains who were in the interior, one named Marchim, and the other Sazinou, chief of the river of Quinibequy.

The next day they guided us, descending the river by a route different from that we had taken, towards a lake; and passing by the island, they left each one an arrow near a head land by which the savages pass, and they believe that if they omit to do this some disaster will happen to them, to which the devil persuades them, as they live in superstition, and do many other things of this kind.

Beyond this headland we passed a very narrow rapid, but not without great difficulty; for although the wind was favorable and fresh, and we filled our sails to the utmost possible extent, yet we were not able to pass it in this way, and were obliged to fasten a hauser to the trees on shore, and all of us to pull upon it. So

what with hard work, and aided by the wind, which was in our favor, we got over. The savages who were with us carried their canoes over land, not being able to pass with their paddles. After passing this rapid we saw some fine meadow land. I was greatly surprised at these rapids, because descending we had found the tide quite favorable, but at the rapids we found it quite the other way, and having passed them it again descended as before, much to our satisfaction.

Pursuing our route we came to the lake which is three or four leagues long, in which there are some islands, and into which descend two rivers, that of Quinibequy, which comes from the north-north-east, and the other from the north-west, by which Marchim and Sazinou were to come, whom having waited for all day and seeing that they did not come we resolved to employ the time. We accordingly raised anchor, and two of the Savages coming with us as our guides, we dropped anchor at the mouth of the river where we caught a quantity of many kinds of excellent fish; our Savages, however, went hunting, but did not return to us. The course by which we descended the said river is much surer and better than that in which we had been before. The island of the Tortoise, which is before the mouth of the said river, is in 44 degrees of latitude, and 19 degrees 4 minutes declination by the compass. About four leagues distant to seaward there are toward the south-east three little islands where the English fish for cod. By this river the country is traversed as far as Quebec. Some fifty leagues north only a land traverse of two leagues after which another little river is

entered, which flows into the great river Saint Laurent. This river of Quinibequy is quite dangerous for vessels a half league up, because of the shallow water, heavy tides, rocks and bottom inside as well as outside. But there is a very good channel if it were well surveyed. The little of the country that I saw on the banks is very poor; nothing but rocks on every side. There are numbers of small oaks, but very little tillable land. This place abounds with fish as is also reported of the other rivers about here. The people live in the same manner as those of our settlement, and we were told that the Savages, who sowed (le blé d'Inde) Indian corn, were far in the interior, and that they abandoned doing so on the coast because of their wars with their neighbors who come to carry it off. This is all that I could learn concerning this place, which I believe to be no better than others.

The savages who inhabit this coast are very limited in number. During the winters, during the heaviest snows, they hunt the Elk and other animals, which are their chief food; when the snows are light, it is by no means to their advantage, the more so because they can take none, except by enormous labors, which is the cause of great hardship and suffering to them. When they do not go to the chase they live upon a shell fish, called (coque) cockles. They dress themselves in winter in good furs of Beaver and Elk. The women make all the clothes, but not so neatly that the flesh is not visible under the armpits, not knowing enough to make them any better. When they go to the chase, they carry a sort of racket,

twice as large as those used on our side, which they fasten beneath their feet, and thus travel over the snow without sinking in, and all together, women and children, as well as the men, seek the trail of animals; which, having found, they follow until they catch sight of the animal, when they draw upon it with their bows, or kill it with blows from swords inserted in the end of a half pike, which is easy enough, because these animals can not travel over the snow without sinking in; after which the women and children come up and house it and cure it; after which they return to see if they can not find any more.

Sailing along the coast, we came to anchor to the lee of a little island behind the mainland, where we saw more than eighty Savages, who ran along the coast to see us, dancing and showing by signs the pleasure they had. I went to explore an island, where all that I saw was pleasant to view, there being fine oaks and walnut trees, the land cleared, and abundance of vines, which bear fine grapes in the season; they were the first which I had seen on all these coasts, from the "Cap de la Hève." We called it the island of Bacchus. The tide being full, we raised anchor, and entered into a little river, which we could not do before, because of a bar in the harbor, on which at low tide there is only a half fathom of water, at high tide a fathom and a half; when within there are three, four, five and six. As we dropped anchor there a number of Savages came down to us to the river bank, and began to dance. Their Captain, whom they called Honemechin, was not with them. He arrived two or three hours later with

two canoes, and made several times the circuit of our vessel. These people shave the hair from the skull quite high up, and the rest, which they wear quite long, they comb and twist behind in many different ways quite neatly with feathers, which they fasten on their heads. They paint their faces in black and red, like the other Savages I have seen. They are an agile people, and their bodies well formed. Their arms are pikes, clubs, bows and arrows, in the ends of which they fasten the tail of a fish called *Signoc*; others are fitted with bones, and others are all wood. They till and cultivate the earth, a thing which we had not before seen. Instead of ploughs, they use an instrument of hard wood, made in the form of a spade. This river the inhabitants of the country call Chouacoet.

I landed to see their tillage on the river bank, and saw their corn, which is (blé d'Inde) Indian corn; they raise it in gardens, sewing three or four grains in one place, after which they gather around them with the scales of the aforesaid *Signoc* a quantity of earth; then three feet distant they sow as much more, and so consecutively. Among this corn at each tuft they plant three or four Brazil beans, which come up of various colors. When they are large, they twine about the aforesaid corn, which grows to the height of five or six feet, and they keep the ground quite free from weeds. We saw there quantities of pumpkins, squash, and (*petum*) tobacco, which they also cultivate. The Indian corn which I saw was then two feet high; there was some three. They sow in May, and harvest in September. As for the beans,

they were beginning to flower, as also the squash and pumpkins. I saw a great quantity of nuts, which are small in size and divided into many quarters. There were none as yet upon the trees, but we found enough on the ground, which had fallen the previous season. There were also abundance of vines, upon which there were fine grapes, of which we made excellent verjuice, and the like of which we had only seen on the isle of Bacchus, distant from this river nearly two leagues. Their fixed habitations, their tillage and the fine trees led me to the opinion that the air is milder and better than where we wintered or elsewhere on the coast. The woods inland are quite open, although full of oak, beech, ash and elm trees. In the water regions there are quantities of willows. The Savages always remain in this spot, and have a great hut, surrounded by palisades made of quite large trees, set the one against the other, to which they withdraw when their enemies make war upon them; and they cover their huts with the bark of the oak. This spot is very pleasant and agreeable as possible; the river, which abounds in fish, is skirted by meadow land. At its mouth there is a little island, where a good fortress could be built, and one would be in security.

DESCRIPTION OF NEW ENGLAND

From the Merchants Map of Commerce. By Lewis Roberts. Fourth Edition. Folio, London, 1700

The chief Town of *New England*, for Trade, and every other respects, is *Boston*, of late very much enlarged; it hath two Meeting-houses, about a thousand

Families; the building for the generality with Timber, a few with Brick; but most Brick Chimneys: a State house newly erected in the middle of the great street; *Charlestown* is not much increased in building, and hath but a small Trade; *Salem* much increased in buildings and Trade, by reason of the Fish there, and at *Marblehead*, the next neighbours: *Pescataqua* River affords Timber, Pipe-staves, Boards, Masts, as also Fish from *Isle-shoals*, thrive much, and begin to draw a Trade. These are all the most remarkable places, or Sea-Ports for Traffick at present; *Plimouth* Jurisdiction, *Connectacut* Jurisdiction, and all the Towns upon that River, as also *New-Haven* Jurisdiction, and Towns there, afford little else but Provisions, with which they supply this Town of *Boston*, and the *Dutch* at *Manatos*: as indeed all other Island Plantations and Islands do, as *Martin's* Vineyard, *Road* Island, *Long* Island, *Shelter* Island, &c., and so all other Parts and Islands to the Eastward, which are but so many scattered petty places, where people raise only Provisions; of which all that possibly they can spare, is brought by Trading Boats to *Boston*, which is the Centre.

The Governour, as also all other Magistrates, and subordinate officers, are all chosen by the major part of the Free-men annually; but none is made free until first he is a member of some Congregational Church here; for their Religion is Protestantism, indifferent between Independent and Presbyterian; here is no Toleration for Anabaptists, Papists, nor Quakers; nor any such Sectaries that are apt to sow Sedition, or disturb the Peace. But such as will sit down and attend the ways of God, though they join not with

them, may be quiet. But no Children are permitted Baptism, except either the Father, or Mother, or both, be a member of some Congregation. But now of late, if the Grandfather, &c., do present the child, he being a member though the Father and Mother be none, it is accepted.

The chief places for to Ride, Load and Unload, are *Boston*, *Charlestown*, *Salem*, *Pescataqua*, where any Ship of any burden may come.

Here is a Mint set up a few years since, and coins only Silver, 12 d, 6 d, 3 d. which was occasioned by some, who brought many base new *Peru* pieces of Eight; which being discovered, an Act was made against them that they should not go for current payment: So the people into whose hands they were scattered, were hereby necessitated to have them refined, and so coined, which was according to the Standard; and though there was much loss, yet something was saved. *Mexico* and *Sevil* Rials of Eight, pass for five shillings *per* piece, and so the smaller proportionally; in Coinage they will yield 5 s, 3 d, if good, all charge deducted. Now, to carry out above five pounds at a time for necessary expenses; here is no rising or falling of money; If Bullion were brought in and coined, it would turn to account, and purchase the goods of the Countrey, sooner than Goods, and cheaper.

Accounts are kept by Merchants; such as can do it according to the *Italian* manner, and express their moneys by pounds, shillings, pence.

Interest is set by Law, not to exceed eight *per cent per ann.*

Our Weight is according to the *Eng-*

lish, 112 to the Hundred *Averdupois*, sixteen ounces to the pound ; Silk, Silver, *Troy* weight.

The dry measure for Corn, Salt, &c., is by the *Winchester* Bushel strik'd ; Coals, Apples, Onions, &c., heapt ; A Boad and Shoes all one measure : Wine, Oyl, and all liquid measure by the Gallon. The long measure is Ell of 45 Inches, and Yard of 36 Inches, as in *England*.

They are not yet come so high as to transport manufactures of their own, for they cannot supply themselves. The Commodities Exported, are Fish, Beef, Pork, Bisket, Flour, some Corn sometimes, Beaver, Musk-skins, Otter-skins, Pipe-staves, Boards, Masts.

All sorts of Forein Commodities will vend here, if such as the Countrey affords will purchase them with the Commodities above exprest, and they are still cloathed with *English* Drapery ; for the colours, the newest are now best in request ; for the quantity, all sorts of course and fine Linnen and Woollen, Shoes, Stockings, Thread, Buttons, and Pedlery Ware ; Silks, Ribonds, Lace, Pewter, Lead, Shot, Powder, Small Artillery ; Mault, Wines, Strong-waters, Oyls, Fruits, Salt, &c., for take notice, we as other Plantations, want almost everything, but the particulars above express'd ; I think scarce a hundred thousand pounds do suffice *per annum*, the *English* in these parts.

Here is as yet no Society begun to encourage Trade ; and the encouragement to manufacture will be of necessity as people grow numerous. Monopoly here is none, only the Trade with the *Indians* for Poultry is committed to a few. Nothing is prohibited but Provisions, which is forfeited if it be landed without License.

For Custom, &c, here is none upon any Commodity, from any parts brought in by Inhabitant or Stranger, either for Importation or Exportation of ought ; only upon Wines and Strong-waters, which pay Importation, Canary, Malago, and Sherry, ten shillings *per* Butt ; *Madira*, *Lisbon* and *Greek*, six shillings eight pence *per* Pipe ; Fial, five shillings *per* Pipe ; all Strong-Waters, forty shillings *per* tun, to make Entry of them before Landing, or else forfeited.

Consolage none ; Factorage, from five to ten *per cent* for sales and returns. No Rate set, but as the Principal and Factor agree ; other charges are Boat-hire, Wharf age, Porterage and Ware-house room.

For Tret, allowance or overplus, &c, is none allowed here yet ; only Custom hath crept upon us in the sale of Sugar to allow for Tare of the Cask, as it is in *London*.

The most of our Negotiation (for want of money) is in a way of bartering, and do agree in what Commodities to pay, and at what rates and time.

Little shipping here, but small Croft, from twenty to eighty and an hundred Tuns ; and most Catches employed to the Western Islands, *Madara*, *Virginia* and *Carribbe* Islands ; few or no Nation but our own frequent here.

The chief Fishing is made dry, Dry Cod, or Poor Jack, which is taken by hook and line in Shallops ; the seasons the Spring and Fall ; the time for lading the Spring Fish, which is the best, is in *June* ; the Fall Fish in *October*, or thereabouts, a little more or less, sold by the Quintal or hundred weight ; price, ordinarily thirty-two, thirty, and twenty-eight Reals *per* Quintal. It is transported by Ships (that do come to buy it)

to *Bilboa*, when we had peace with *Spain*; the refuse Fish and Maycrils go to the Western and *Carribbe* Islands; here is a beginning to make Barrel Cod and Cor-Fish for *France*.

Fraight ordinarily, three pounds from *London*; back, three pounds ten shillings, and some Goods four pounds *per* Tun, and 3 l. to 3 l. 10 s. to *Barbado's* and Western Islands little or no Inland carriage.

Here is no discouragement given to any Foreiner to hinder Trade, but many freely come, and behaving themselves civilly, and have as free liberty to sell and buy as any Inhabitant; the more is the pity, I think.

Here is no Office of Assurance, nor scarce any that make any private Contract in that respect; What is that way done, is done in *England* by advice.

Bank here is none, neither are here men capable of it, but were here those of ability and understood it, and resolved upon it, it would draw all the profit of those poor parts into it.

NOTES

CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF WESTCHESTER CO., N. Y.—The original enlistment papers of a troop of Col. Emmerick's dragoons, enlisted in Westchester County, in 1778 and 1779, were recently shown me by a gentleman resident in that County, to whom they belonged. They are fifty in number, in perfect preservation, printed on a single page of foolscap size, the blanks filled up by the enlisting officer, and are all signed by the respective men;—a minority only making their marks. Immediately fol-

lowing is the certificate of the Justice of the Peace, before whom the enlistment was signed, and the oath of fidelity taken, who in almost every instance was David Oakley—a well known old Westchester name.

The following is a perfect copy of one of the papers, the italics denoting the blanks in the original filled up in writing. "I *Gilbert Lounsbury*, of the County of *Westchester* in *New York Government*, aged 25 years, by trade a *carpenter*, declare that I am a true and lawful subject to his Majesty King *George the Third*, and that I have no Rupture, nor ever was troubled with Fits; that I am not disabled by lameness or otherwise, and that I have voluntarily inlisted myself to serve his Majesty King *GEORGE* the Third, as a Private *Dragoon* during the present Rebellion or Disturbance in America, in a corps of Provincial Chasseurs, whereof *ANDREAS EMMERICK Esq., is Lt. Col. Commander*, and that I have received the enlisting moneys I agreed for.

Witness my Hand this 10 Day of May, 1877. *Gilbert Lounsbury.*"

"This is to certify that the above-named *Gilbert Lounsbury* came before me, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of *Westchester*, and declared he had voluntarily inlisted himself to serve his Majesty King *GEORGE* the Third, in the above mentioned *Corps of Provincial Chasseurs*, and doth acknowledge to have heard read unto him the Second and Sixth Sections of the Articles of War, against Mutiny and Desertion, and took the oath of Fidelity mentioned in the Articles of War.

Sworn before me, this *first* Day of *August*, 1778.

David Oakley, Justice."

Of the fifty in the annexed list, thirty-four are those of Westchester men, and they are so familiar at this day, that they read like the jury lists published in the White-plains paper now. There is no county in the Union where the old people have stuck to their old homes more closely than in Westchester, and as every family had members on each side in the Revolution, and in many cases on both sides alternately, this fact is not at all singular. As to their occupations they were "husbandmen" and mechanics, the former slightly the more numerous, and their ages varied from seventeen to forty.

There were in the troop, one New York City man, one Long Islander from Queens County, one man from Fairfield, now Bridgeport, in Connecticut, two Pennsylvanians, two Jerseymen, six natives of "Old England," which term was universally used in, and before the Revolution to distinguish Englishmen born in England, from those born in America, for both were "Englishmen," of course, in fact and in law. And there was also one trooper described as "of the Empire of Germany."

The list of the troop is carefully made from the original documents. It is very interesting, and strikingly illustrative of the famous "Neutral Ground" of history, romance, and song. The commander of the troop was Captain Benjamin Ogden, many of the enlistment papers bearing his name endorsed upon them.

Natives of Westchester.—Shubal Kniffin, John Brown, Philip Hunt, Jacob Van Tassel, Anthony Beatleburn, Gilbert Lounsbury, Benjamin Golden, Stephen Smith, William Akerly, John Baisley, James Simmons, Jesse Purdy, David

Lyons, Reuben Akerly, Robert Crooker, Joseph McKeel, Shubal Merrit, Gilbert Deane, Stephen Sherwood, Caleb Griffin, William Davenport, Thomas Bird, Abraham Brundige, Thomas Briggs, John Vail, Joseph Sutton, Nehemiah Marshall, Abraham Akerly, Thomas Green, Samuel Cornell, Benjamin Castin, Gilbert Dickinson, John Anderson, Joshua Taylor. *New York City*, Jacob Chappell. *Queens County, L. I.*, Charles Justice. *Connecticut*, Ephraim Seely of Fairfield. *Pennsylvania*, William McCarley of Chester County. Jasper Leesley of Phil. *New Jersey*, Gershom Hilyard of Somerset, Jeremiah Hemsted of Middlesex. "*Old England*," John Hamilton of Cumberland, Richard Rogers of Chester, John Ambler of Yorkshire, John Foster of Staffordshire, John Ellis of Suffolk. *Germany*, Gotfried Fehr.

GUY OF SCARSDALE.

SLAUGHTER OF GREEKS AND ROMANS. Harrison, who was born in 1773, and elected President in 1840, was in one sense a fair representative of the educated men of that day, who drew their sources of inspiration from classic lore. Mr. Webster was asked by him to revise his inaugural. A few hours later, the great orator returned to his quarters at the hotel, heated and fatigued. "Where have you been, Mr. Webster," a gentleman remarked to him, "that you are so disturbed?" "Ah, my friend," said he, "if you but knew how many Greeks and Romans I have slain this day."

The document still retains abundant allusions to the political forms of Rome and Athens, and the names of Cæsar, Octavius, Antony, the elder Brutus, the

Curtii and Decii still survive the massacre. What names Mr. Webster sacrificed in his hecatomb are matter of curious inquiry which only the draft of the inaugural itself can satisfy.

J. A. S.

UNSUCCESSFUL EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ILLINOIS IN 1764.—We hear that on the 27th of February last, Major Loftus was ordered with the 22d regiment, consisting of about 300 Men, from Mobile, to proceed up the Mississippi and take possession of the Illenois, 500 leagues distant. That he found the Passage up the River very difficult, owing to the Rapidity of the Current, which retarded their March so much that they could scarce proceed Ten Miles a Day. And that on the 20th of March, having only got 70 Leagues up the River, their foremost Boat was attacked by the Indians, and in a few Minutes had six Men killed, and as many wounded. That the other Boats immediately attempted to land but were also very smartly fired upon. That Major Loftus having a few Days before lost 57 Men by Desertion, not knowing the Number of the Enemy, and being then at a Place called Le Roche Davoine, about 400 Leagues from the Illenois, thought it impracticable to fulfill his Orders, therefore returned to Pensacola.—*N. Y. Gazette, May 28, 1764.*

PETERSFIELD.

THE FIRST BORN. *In Dutchess Co., N. Y.*—Died at Poughkeepsie, Mr. William Lawson, aged near 100 years. He was the first born white person in Dutchess Co.—*N. Y. Magazine, August, 1791.*

W. K.

THE TABLET IN INDEPENDENCE HALL.—Since the publication of our last number we have been shown a corrected page of the "Centenary edition" of Mr. Bancroft's History, (III. 519.) which restores the passage giving credit to New York as the originator of the Non-Importation Agreement, as it originally stood in the previous edition of this standard work. We hope that the Committee in charge of Independence Hall will conform the tablet to the historical truth. EDITOR.

OUR NATIONAL FLAG.—General Hamilton calls attention to two inadvertencies in his paper on "Our National Flag," which is the leading article in this number of the Magazine. On page 425, after "Oregon was admitted February 14, 1859," should follow *Kansas January 29, 1861.* On page 427, instead of "There are this day, the Centennial of its adoption, "thirty-six stars in the union of our Flag to be altered to thirty-seven stars July 4, 1877," the phrase should run *thirty seven stars to be altered to thirty-eight.* EDITOR.

QUERIES

NEW HAVEN CONVENTION 1778.—In 1778 John Cleves Symmes, then Judge of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, was appointed by the General Assembly of that State a Commissioner to go to New Haven to attend a convention of commissioners from other States, to settle the price of various articles of produce. Judge Symmes attended that Convention. Will some one tell us when it was held, what States were represented, who were the delegates, and what was done by the Convention? C. H. W.

INSCRIPTION AT PORTSMOUTH, N. H.—Early explorers and navigators of the eastern shores N. E. States, its bays, estuaries, rivers and creeks, were in the habit of affixing plates of copper to prominent rocks or faces of bluffs, with the date, etc., engraved thereon, for the purpose of calling the attention of others to the fact that the place had been visited. Portsmouth, N. H., a quaint, historical city of the present and the past, has many such bays and creeks, where rock, islet or bluff was so adorned. I wish to ask if any one can tell what became of the copper plate that was attached to the face of a rocky islet in Sagamore Creek, above the bridge and nearly abreast of what was known as Beck's farm, twenty years ago or more perhaps?

Boys visiting this place tore the plate from its fastenings and sold it to a junk dealer in Portsmouth. CLEW GARNETT.

OBSERVANCE OF THE PRESIDENT'S BIRTH DAY.—The birth day of Washington has become a national holiday, and is likely to remain so as long as the Republic lasts. His successor in office, John Adams, was complimented by the citizens of Massachusetts in 1798 by the celebration of his birth day with Military and Civil honors.

It is a curious circumstance that the birth day of Washington was first celebrated on the 11th of February; the eleven additional days required by New Style were added later. This mistake also occurred in regard to that of John Adams; at Newburyport and other places, the festivities were had on the 19th of October, 1798 (O. S.), and at Boston on the 30th of the same month (N. S.).

Are there instances of the public observance of the birth days of any other Presidents of the United States?

W. K.

THE PASSION FLOWER.—In your January number the naming of this sacramental flower is attributed to a German Jesuit, in 1692. Some years ago I became satisfied that that marvelous creation was carried to Europe as early as 1605—presented to Pope Paul V—and received its name from him. A Latin testimony to this effect was shown me by Bishop Henni, of Milwaukee, but I cannot now recall the authority. Will some one near a large library look into early botanical works and publish what he finds?

J. D. B.

REPLIES

WASHINGTON'S PORTRAITS.—(I. 55) In a work called "Washington and His Masonic Compeers," by Sydney Hayden, Athens, Pa., occurs a steel engraving of Washington. On p. 160 of same work is an account of the portrait from which the engraving is copied. The portrait was taken from life in 1794, by an artist named Williams, and is now in possession of Masonic Lodge No. 22, Alexandria, Virginia, of which lodge the President was a member. Fifty dollars was paid for the portrait. The engraving is a faithful copy, and both it and the portrait are remarkable for their want of resemblance to any other portrait of Washington in existence. If the name "Washington" was not at the bottom of the picture it would never be recognized as the likeness of one whose features are

so indelibly cut on the heart and memory of every American, that hardly any caricature except this one could disguise them. However, it is a historic picture, and prized very highly by the lodge, as the only masonic portrait of Washington ever painted.

H. E. H.

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 PORTRAIT OF GOVERNOR GRISWOLD.—(I. 53) The portrait in oil of Governor Roger Griswold, of Connecticut, was painted by Rembrant Peale, and was in the gallery of that artist, which was subsequently scattered through the country, a portion of the pictures being carried to Boston. Some twenty years ago a cousin of the family, while wandering about the streets of Boston waiting for his ship to sail, encountered what he believed to be the lost portrait in an out of the way picture gallery. Further information is desired.

CRISP.

—
 YANKEE DOODLE.—(I. 390.) The following extract from the *Gentlemen's Magazine* of March, 1783, may be of interest in connection with the query in your last number. "Your readers and the public must remember an object of compassion who used to sing ballads about the streets, and went by the vulgar appellation of *Yankee Doodle*, alluding to a song he sang about London, at the commencement of the American War; his real name was Thomas Poynton."

PETERSFIELD.

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 ERKURIES BEATTY.—(I. 372.) The "Official Register" of the officers and non-commissioned officers and private soldiers of New Jersey, either regular or militia, does not contain Beatty's name

as having served in any capacity during the War of the Revolution in any New Jersey regiment.

Lieutenant Beatty's date of appointment as 2d Lieutenant in the Pennsylvania line, as given in the "Biographical Sketch" for the Magazine, is correct.

His subsequent commissions and offices are as follows; viz: I. Promoted to be 1st Lieutenant Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Infantry, 2 June, 1778. II. Appointed "Adjutant" of the same and appointment announced by General Washington in General Orders of 17 May, 1780. III. Transferred to Third Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Infantry, 1 January, 1783. IV. Appointed "Regimental Paymaster," Third Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Infantry, 22 May, 1783. V. Appointed Brevet Captain, U. S. A., 30 September, 1783. VI. Honorably mustered out and discharged, 3 November, 1783. VII. Appointed Lieutenant First U. S. Infantry (now Third U. S. Infantry), 12 August, 1784. VIII. Appointed "Regimental Paymaster" First U. S. Infantry in Regimental Orders, dated Fort Harmar, Ohio, 7 August, 1786. IX. Promoted to be Captain, First U. S. Infantry, 29 September, 1789, but continued to act as Regimental Paymaster until 5 June, 1790. X. Promoted to be Major, First U. S. Infantry, 5 March, 1792. XI. Resigned, 27 November, 1792.

A. B. G.

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 WILLIAM EUSTIS.—(I. 259, 394.) We thank W. K. for his reply in your last number to our Query in April, respecting the resignation of William Eustis as Secretary of War, though we had prev-

iously obtained the same information from an old file of the *National Intelligencer*, which he says "does not support the suggestion of a removal from office, made by G. W. C. in his query." We asked: "What was the date of Eustis' resignation, or removal, as it might more properly be called," fully understanding at the time all the circumstances of his leaving President Madison's cabinet, which we will now give in the words of the Historian of the War of 1812-15; Charles Jared Ingersoll, himself a prominent Democratic Member of Congress, and personally cognizant of the whole matter. He says: "When General Hull's surrender fell upon the executive at Washington like a thunderbolt, the Secretary of War was of course the person most seriously scathed. * * * His sacrifice to public indignation was deemed indispensable, not by the President, but by Members of Congress of his party, particularly the New England Democrats, of whom a self-created deputation waited on Doctor Eustis, and without the slightest hesitation on his part, prevailed on him forthwith manfully to resign." Technically, this was a *resignation*, but virtually a *removal*, dictated by his democratic friends to save the party from the odium brought upon it by Eustis' utter incompetency to perform the functions of his office. Of course the President, while yielding to the necessity of parting with him, said some soft words, and the *National Intelligencer*, the government organ, felt bound, for the peace of the party, to grind out an amiable and conciliatory editorial on the subject.

W. K. further remarks that we were "in error as to the fate of the public

archives." We inadvertently said *all*, instead of *some*, were destroyed in the burning of the Capitol; but W. K. is equally in error in stating that they "were removed to a place of safety before the enemy took possession of Washington." Late in the night preceding the capture of the city, when the enemy was very near, the Secretary of War, by command of the President, directed the removal of "the records," but the order was only partially carried out, as appears by Ingraham's admirable "Sketch of the Events which preceded the Capture of Washington, Aug. 24, 1814." He says, "It is a matter of history, and of lasting reproach to the British nation, that in violation of all the rules of civilized warfare, General Ross proceeded to destroy and lay waste the public buildings, monuments and property, including a valuable library, and some of the archives, in the most wanton manner, involving in their destruction many private dwellings and a great amount of private property." How many valuable documents were then lost may be inferred from the fact that this very resignation of a Cabinet Minister is not to be found in the State or War Departments. On this subject, a high official in Washington, who is himself in charge of most important government papers, writes to us: "The resignation of Eustis was probably burned with the records destroyed by the British when the city was captured."

As W. K. has attempted to correct us, we will return the compliment. He says that on the *thirteenth* of December, 1812, "the War Department was committed to the charge of the Secretary of State." If so, there must have been, for

at least five days, *two* heads to the War Department, as William Eustis officially signed papers on the *eighteenth* of December, 1812. See his letter to General Dearborn, of the 18th; and also of the same date, a communication to the Speaker of the U. S. House of Representatives (State Papers, Military Affairs, Vol. 1, page 327). G. W. C.

JUNE PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Historical Society held its Regular Monthly Meeting on the evening of Tuesday, June 5th, 1877, the President, Frederic de Peyster, LL. D., in the Chair.

After the regular business the Librarian read a memorial of the late John Lothrop Motley, prepared by the Hon. John Jay, at the request of the Executive Committee, and presented the excuses of Mr. Jay for his absence. At the close of the reading Mr. Stevens moved that the memorial be spread upon the minutes, according to the usual custom. Objection being taken to some part of the paper, as implying a reflection upon the Government of the United States in the account given of the retirement of Mr. Motley from the missions of Vienna and London, on motion of Mr. George H. Moore the memorial was referred to the Executive Committee with power, which was accepted by the mover and acceded to by the Society.

The Paper of the evening was then read by Mr. James Parton; the subject, "The Feasts of our Forefathers." The announcement of a reading by this gentleman, who to humor and learning

unites a happy delivery, had drawn to the rooms of the Society a large and appreciative audience. The title of the paper scarcely expressed its full meaning, which was rather an account of the modes of life of our ancestors and the varieties of their food and its preparation by them, than a recital of their feasts. To quaint statement and occasional admirable declamation the orator added a delivery charming in its serenity and apparent unconsciousness of effect upon the audience.

The Society held a special meeting Thursday evening, the 14th of June, to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the adoption of the Flag of the United States, when Major-General Schuyler Hamilton, the historian of the flag, delivered an address prepared at the request of the Society. The President of the Society, Frederic de Peyster, LL. D., opened the proceedings in a few appropriate words, after which a large number of new members were admitted. General Hamilton then read his Paper, which was received with applause by the large and fashionable audience.

We do not enter here into any detail of this instructive sketch, as it is to be found printed in full as the leading article of this number of the Magazine.

The thanks of the Society were voted to the orator, and the Society adjourned till the first Tuesday of October.

Thus closed a season memorable in the annals of the Society, in its celebration of three important incidents in the history of the City, State and Nation; the battle of Harlem Plains, the adoption of the Constitution of the State and of the Flag of the Union.

(Publishers of Historical works wishing Notices, will address the Editor with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM THE FIRST DISCOVERY OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE BY THE NORTHMEN TO THE END OF THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE UNION OF THE STATES, by WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT and SYDNEY HOWARD GAY. Fully Illustrated. Vol. I. Royal 8vo, pp. 583. SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG & Co., New York, 1876.

A more promising and satisfactory combination of talent than the names of the two authors of this extensive and important work suggest could not be desired. The well-known judgment and classic taste of the senior and the scholarly, pains-taking fidelity of the junior, long experienced in editorial work, were from the beginning guarantees of original, careful and exhaustive treatment. The want of such a history as this, adapted to general use, has been long felt. Our standard histories, by Graham, Hildreth and Bancroft, are all valuable, and their treatment of the civil and military periods leaves little to be desired by the scholar. This, however, is on a different plan, and has the advantage of all the recent discoveries concerning the pre-historic period, which is happily termed the Pre-Columbian period. This treatment, from a scientific point of view, is entirely novel and of extreme interest and value. The style is admirable in its condensed simplicity and easy grace of narrative. A short preface by Mr. Bryant clearly states the "*raison d'être*" of the work.

The first two chapters present all that is known of the early inhabitants of this continent, and some speculations as to their remote antiquity—precedent perhaps to the geological formation of the Pacific range, and even the existence of man on the European continent—pointing not only to the probability of an Asiatic origin of the North American Indian, but further back to a race displaced by their migration. As an introduction to this, there is an excellent summary of European discoveries, and an account of the probable habits of the Lake and Cave dwellers, with illustrations. We may here remark for the information of any of our readers about to visit the Continent of Europe, that there are in the museum at Mayence excellent reproductions in model of the Lacustrine villages of Switzerland, and at Mentona, on the Mediterranean, a huge cave is now in process of excavation, which has contributed numerous proofs of the climatic changes of Southern Europe, and somewhat modified theories as to the habits of its early inhabitants.

The second chapter on the mound builders assumes the entire extinction of this race, and that they were wholly disconnected from the In-

dians of the North American Continent. This account of the mound builders, whose shadowy forms appear behind the Indian of the last three centuries, ascribes to them not only settled agricultural habits, but a high state of knowledge in the arts of construction. It includes descriptions of the copper implements recently discovered in Wisconsin.

Accounts follow of the western migrations of the Northmen and the doubtful traditions of the Welsh bards. The first volume carries the reader through the French, Spanish and English discoveries, closing with the murder of Oldham and the outbreak of the Pequot War. We call special attention to the description of the landing of the Puritans, in which some pretty traditions are discredited, and some new views advanced.

The work is admirably printed, and its illustrations leave nothing to be desired in their profusion and variety. We commend the work without reserve as indispensable to every gentleman's library.

AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA, CIVIL, POLITICAL AND MILITARY, FROM ITS EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME, including Historical descriptions of each County in the State, their Towns and Industrial Resources, by WILLIAM H. EGLE, M. D. Royal 8vo, pp. 1180. DEWITT C. GOODRICH & Co., Harrisburg, 1876.

This realizes what the author claims to have been his aim in the preparation of this work—a fair representation of the history, resources, progress and development of the Colonies on the Delaware, of the Province and of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The chapters of general history are admirable in their succinctness and general grasp of the important events from the advent of the Moravian and Jesuit missionaries to the inauguration of Governor Hartranft in January, 1876, when the author informs us, Pennsylvania had become "the Empire State of the Union—first in population, first in wealth, first in industrial resources, and first in political influence." This is a statement that may find acceptance in Pennsylvania, but probably no where else in the Union. New York has no intention of abdicating as yet. The sceptre of influence and of capital is still in the one cosmopolitan city of the Union, and in no uncertain grasp. That of political power is for the time shared by the Eastern States in combination with Pennsylvania, which have received for

their interests an amount of Government protection, which neither the Western agricultural States nor the commercial seaboard will long endure. The census of 1870 reported the population of New York at 4,382,759, that of Pennsylvania at 3,521,951, a difference not made up assuredly by Pennsylvania increase. In addition, within a radius of fifty miles of New York, there are at least a half million persons whose interests depend directly upon the Metropolis. More than one-half of all the commerce of all the States, as shown by the tables of exports and imports, passes through the city of New York. Time may change these ratios, but there is no evidence of any approaching change at present.

This work is historical in its form. The histories of the counties are fully and well presented. Thorough statistics of the towns are not to be found, nor should they be looked for in a volume of this scope. It is not a Gazetteer. For instance, turning to Milford, in Pike county, we find no record of the French colony, which is a distinctive and interesting feature in this town. The author asks that the volume be considered an "entirety," and we add cheerful testimony to the harmony of its proportions and its value as a book of reference.

OUTLINES OF THE POLITICAL HIS-

TORY OF MICHIGAN, by JAMES V. CAMPBELL.

8vo, pp. 606. SCHORER & CO., Detroit, 1876.

This, originally intended as a sketch for the purposes of the Centennial Committee of Michigan, is a rapid summary of the history of Michigan, and although announced by the author to be imperfect and in no manner exhaustive, is a praiseworthy contribution to the history of the State, which, originally a part of New France, received its popular government in 1826 and 1827, and its chief increase since that period. The poetic period of our history is that of the rivalry between the French and English Colonies for the control of the interior of the Continent; Detroit is the very centre of this region of romance. It was the centre of Indian affairs, and the key of the Lakes. The struggle later for the command of this port was between the Americans and the English, and involved the control of the Northwest. The author recites the efforts at settlement by the Americans and the attempts of the British to check an increase of population, by incitement of the Indians to massacre. The work shows diligent research, good taste in selection, is well written, well printed, and in every way a creditable production.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY. No. 1 of Volume I.

8vo, pp. 116. Publication Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1877.

We extend a cordial welcome to this first issue of a publication by our Pennsylvania friends, to which we wish long life and prosperity. It is admirably printed on excellent paper, and is promised quarterly. The present number contains an interesting diary kept by Robert Morton while Philadelphia was in British occupation; a paper upon Whalley the Regicide, claiming to identify him with Edward Middleton of Virginia, later the Edward Whalley of Maryland, on the faith of a document of the year 1769, which if authenticated beyond question, makes a strong case of presumptive evidence. Among the biographical sketches are seven of those prepared for the Committee on the Restoration of Independence Hall, which were unfortunately so limited by the rules of the Committee as to be of little value, though here and there a new fact of interest may be gleaned. This limitation is the only excuse we can find for such an incomplete statement of the position of New York regarding independence, as we find in the sketch of Henry Wisner, delegate from New York, by Rev. Dr. Bellows. The New York Congress did not give its delegates instructions to vote because *it had no power* to give such instructions, but called the people together to choose a Congress with *that very power*. The first day the new Congress met it adopted the Declaration of Independence, and adopted it while the British fleet, with the largest army ever sent to these shores, lay in the bay. If, as Dr. Bellows says, "the trembling tree of national liberty was in danger from breezes of selfish cowardice or calculating distrust," those breezes did not blow from this quarter.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE WORCESTER

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY, FROM ITS INSTITUTION, JANUARY 24, 1875, TO THE REORGANIZATION UNDER THE GENERAL LAWS OF THE COMMONWEALTH, MARCH 6TH, 1877, together with the Constitution and By-Laws and Certificate of Incorporation. No. I, pp. 89. Published by the Society, Worcester, Mass., 1877.

This admirably printed pamphlet is the first of the publications of this Society, which, though weak in numbers, is strong in purpose. From the seal, in the device of which the Pyramids, the Sphinx, Cleopatra's Needle and other oriental relics find place, we presume that the field of operation is world-wide. The Treasurer's report is a model of conciseness as a financial exhibit.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE

STATE OF MAINE, VOL. II., CONTAINING A DISCOURSE ON WESTERN PLANTING, WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1584, by RICHARD HAKLUYT, with a Preface and an Introduction by LEON-

ARD WOODS, LL. D., late President of Bowdoin College, edited, with Notes in the Appendix, by CHARLES DEANE. Published by the Maine Historical Society, aided by appropriations from the State. 8vo, pp. lxi and 241. JOHN WILSON & SON, Cambridge, 1877.

Our last number contained a prospective review of this discourse of the famous voyager so thorough that no further reference is needed. The Ms. was purchased by Mr. Henry Stevens of London at the sale of Lord Valentia, an Irish peer, from whose possession it passed into the hands of Sir Thomas Phillips. It had been lost sight of for two centuries. The introduction and notes are the most valuable part of this volume, prepared with the scholarly thoroughness and care for which the distinguished gentlemen who edited the volume in friendly association are alike distinguished.

A LIST OF THE COLLECTIONS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. With an account of the organization of the Society and an explanation of its objects. 8vo, pp. 18. Commonwealth Steam Printing House, Topeka, Kansas.

"And still they come." This last addition to the Historical Societies of the country was organized December 13, 1875, at Topeka, and has now its home in the State House. We extend our congratulations, and shall be always glad to hear from our Kansas friends.

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LUTHERAN CHURCH IN NEW YORK, by GEORGE P. OCKERSHAUSEN. 8vo, pp. 16. Gettysburg, 1877.

This is a reprint from the Quarterly Review of the Evangelic Lutheran Church, of a paper read the 20th February last, at the Semi-Centennial of the English Lutheran Church of St. James, on East Fifteenth street, near Third Avenue, New York. It is modestly written, and contains some biographical details of the earlier pastors, among whom was the Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the "patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America." Why it was printed at Gettysburg does not appear.

COMMEMORATION OF THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK (APRIL 20, 1777). Address by CHARLES O'CONOR, delivered before the New York His-

torical Society at the Academy of Music, May 8, 1877. 8vo, pp. 40. A. D. F. RANDOLPH & Co., New York, 1877.

Of the many addresses called forth by Centennial reminiscences none is more original and striking than that of this veteran legislator. Appearing in a scene far different from the forum in which he has won such triumphs and distinction, Mr. O'Connor surprised not only his opponents, but his friends by the independence of his judgment and the novelty of his views. With great simplicity and directness of arrangement and style, he traces in broad, clear lines the political progress of this State. Beginning with the observation that the thirteen colonies were all settled by a monogamous race, he finds in that fact the neglect of any permanent guarantee for the preservation of the pure marital relation in the organic law. To this and the universal assertion of the abstract equality of all men, he traced the basis of our politics and our civilization. He claims that voting is not a private right, but a public duty. He applauds the liberality and comprehensiveness of the then new doctrine of freedom of religious profession and worship—a free church in a free State, as Cavour later formalised the doctrine—and giving honor to whom honor is due, he credits John Jay and George Mason of Virginia for the first recognition of this great principle, in the general acceptance of which we have now special reason to be thankful, when we find all Europe divided into hostile camps, with religious belief as the motive antagonism. Mr. O'Connor advocates the open ballot. This was the custom of our English forefathers, but it is open to the objection that it places the employed under the eye and influence of his employers, and by this destroys independence, which is quite as necessary as intelligence in the exercise of the franchise. He laughs at the idea of a "civil service" which means schools for breeding office-holders. He asks for a restriction of the sessions of legislative bodies; although the legislature is the only check upon executive power; and most radical of all changes, he calls for a single chamber and an abolishment of the Executive, which he would replace with an election by lot monthly of a presiding officer by the single chamber. This is pure democracy, nearly as we find it in the Constitution of old Greece or the French Convention. It is Utopian in its excellent simplicity. That we are tending in that direction is undoubted. The people are gradually but surely sweeping away every obstacle in the way of unrestricted government by themselves—directly by themselves. In another half century Mr. O'Connor's views may find acceptance, and instead of being considered, as now, a theoretic radical, he may be held as a political prophet; but none of this generation will live to see the day.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION AT GROTON, MASS., JULY 4, 1876, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TOWN, MARCH, 1676, and the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, with an Oration by SAMUEL ABBOT GREEN, M. D. 8vo, pp. 89. Groton, 1876.

A thorough account, full of interest and antiquarian research, of this ancient town, which, founded in 1655, received its name from its first selectman, Mr. Deane Winthrop, son of Governor John Winthrop, in honor of his birth-place in Old England. Groton was burned by the Indians during King Philip's war, and the church, where the celebrated Parson Willard made his first beginnings in the ministry, shared the fortune of the rest of the village, and even its site is now unknown. The settlers did not sleep on a bed of roses in those days. In 1694 Groton was again attacked, and sundry scalps were taken by the savage Abenakis under Taxons, who was, according to Charlevoix, the Sitting Bull of that period; and there was many another inroad which the learned orator carefully relates from contemporaneous documents.

THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE CITY OF NEWTON, ON THE SEVENTEENTH JUNE AND THE FOURTH OF JULY, BY AND UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE CITY OF NEWTON. Published by order of the City Council. 8vo, pp. 167. 1876.

After careful examination, we have ascertained that the city of Newton lies in the State of Massachusetts, although we find nothing in the title page, or, for that matter, in the body of the work, to support this assertion. In fact, we doubt whether the word Massachusetts, which even Boston editors occasionally use for information of outsiders, appears in the volume, to indicate the location of Newton within the borders of the old Commonwealth. Indistinct memories of *Nonantum* and college days at Harvard were, however, called up by the sight of the ambitious seal which adorns the title-page, and we found that we were on familiar ground.

The volume is full of interest, including: I. An account of the exercises on the seventeenth of June, of which the chief feature was an address by the graceful orator, Governor Alexander H. Rice, "a Newton boy," who, after a long term of service in the National Congress, now worthily fills the Chair of State in Massachusetts. II. An account of the exercises on the Fourth of July, with the oration by Hon. John C. Park, and III, an appendix, containing a History of the Early Settlement of Newton.

The volume is well printed and full of well-executed photo-lithographic illustrations.

OBITUARY

JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY

If an estimate of future fame may be safely drawn from present reputation, that of John Lothrop Motley may be held to be secure. There is no name in the ranks of historic literature which to-day commands more respect and sympathy than his.

Mr. Motley was born at Dorchester, Massachusetts, on the 15th April, 1814. He was descended on both sides from good English stock. He received the rudiments of education at the Boston Latin school, and his preparation for college at the hands of Mr. George Bancroft and the late Dr. Cogswell, then managing the Round Hill Academy at Northampton. Here he no doubt acquired those habits of thorough and original investigation which are indispensable to historic accuracy, and are well-known characteristics of both of these eminent gentlemen. Entering Harvard University at the early age of thirteen, he was graduated in 1831, after which he was sent abroad and pursued his studies at Göttingen and Berlin; after a journey through Southern Europe, he returned to the United States in 1835, and began the study of the law. He was admitted to the Suffolk bar, but finding the practice of the profession too uncongenial to his tastes or temperament, he made some ventures in literary work. We gather from the recent notices published in our press that his first work was a romance, "Morton's Hope, or the Memoirs of a Young Provincial." This work, published at New York, was a mortifying failure, attracting no attention. In 1841 he was appointed Secretary of Legation to St. Petersburg, a post which he relinquished a few months later. His first essay in historical literature was a paper on Peter the Great, which appeared in the *North American Review* for October, 1845. The success of this admirable monograph must have satisfied the young author that history was his true field. In it we find a sample of the qualities which distinguished his later work. The same evidences of exhaustive research; the same clear, compact and often striking style; the same fondness for dramatic scenes and person-drawing (we may so translate the expressive German word *karakterbild*), which is the marked feature of the modern school of history, and in which Motley found examples in Macaulay and Prescott. It is curious to observe how closely the arts and literature sympathize with each other in what may be termed their parallax, vibrating from narrow outline-drawing with meagre detail to the glowing fullness of the realistic school.

In 1849, Mr. Motley published a second novel, "Merry Mount: a Romance of the Massachusetts Colony," which met with no better success than the first. Fortunately for him, he at

this time appears to have come into the favorable notice of Mr. Prescott, who opened to the eager and delighted student the magnificent collections of his own unrivalled library. Here Mr. Motley found not only the material, but the subject; not only the inspiration, but the form for his labor. The story of the pertinacious and successful resistance of the Hollanders to the oppression of Spain, in its dramatic and picturesque incident, was one eminently calculated to impress the fancy of an ardent and ambitious mind. He was now at the age also when history may be best undertaken. Travel and observation and a varied culture added to that fine precision of training, which is the peculiar merit of the Harvard school of education, had fitted him for his vast undertaking. Personally gifted and admired, warmly welcomed as an ornament to any society he sought to enter, and unusually exposed to the allurements of fashionable life, he yet clung pertinaciously to his work, "scorning delights and living laborious days." Governed by the true spirit of historic research, he passed several years abroad on the very spot where the scenes he was to depict had transpired. In the streets of Antwerp and Ghent, of Amsterdam and the Hague, still rich in quaint splendor, he evoked the shades of the actors who were to tread the stage of his historic page. In 1856 the "Rise of the Dutch Republic" made its appearance simultaneously in England and America. It placed him at once in the very front rank of historians. The most important contemporaneous testimony to the value of this work is to be found in a review which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* for January, 1857. Written by the venerable Guizot, it is certainly an invaluable criticism. Taking for his text Prescott's History of the Reign of Philip the Second, published the previous year, and Motley's work, he institutes a comparison between the veteran historian and his youthful emulator treading the same path, which is itself eminently flattering to the younger author. No one will claim for Prescott's latter work, published in his days of infirmity, the matchless grace and mosaic imagery of his earlier histories; but we cannot recognize the justice of a criticism which ascribes to him "an easy, unaffected, though somewhat frigid power of narration," or accord with the judgment which places him "in the historical school of Robertson: judicious rather than profound in its general views, and more remarkable for simplicity than for descriptive power." In contrast with the serenity and tranquility of Prescott, the reviewer says of Motley, that he "has more vehemence—that of a Republican, a Protestant, an honest man, who hates, as though he saw them before his eyes, the outrages inflicted on civil and religious liberty centuries ago in a far country, and lashes with all his heart the authors of these crimes." He considers Mr.

Motley somewhat as we look upon Carlyle or Macaulay, as a hero worshiper—as rather a special pleader and advocate of his hero, William of Orange, than an impartial judge. He does not accord to him the "perfect fairness of Prescott, nor his power of searching the hearts of his enemies for their true motives." Yet he closes with this high praise, that "with their merits and imperfections, the two histories are important works, the result of profound researches, sincere convictions, sound principles and manly sentiments, and do honor to American literature as they would do honor to the literature of any country in the world." Reprinted in English at Amsterdam, it was also translated into Dutch and published there, with an introduction by Van den Brink. German translations were made at Leipsic and Dresden, and a French translation, by Guizot, appeared in Paris in 1859. A Russian translation has since been published. In the pursuit of this labor, Mr. Motley had more than usual good fortune in the cordial welcome and assistance rendered him by the Court at the Hague, the most refined as well as the most hospitable in Europe. The Queen herself took the greatest interest in the progress of the history, which she recognized to be a noble monument to the House of Orange, and gave him apartments in one of the palaces.

In 1860, the second part of the work, entitled the "History of the United Netherlands, from the Death of William the Silent to the Twelve Years Truce, 1609, appeared." The world received this addition with more composure. There was not the same scope for broad handling as in the volumes which displayed the origin and causes from which were welded that iron band which had such tenacity and resistance, but its pages are as glowing and luminous, while the author shows a more serene and even mind and a chaster style.

In the American mind there seems to have always been some vague connection between history and diplomacy as cognate subjects. American diplomacy does not admit of many precedents, and is fortunately confined both here and abroad within very narrow limits; [the greatest feat of American diplomacy that we have read of being the declaration by Congress of its views concerning the French occupation of Mexico, which had so rapid and happy a result.] Nor is this enjoyment of dignified ease by our ambassadors to be regretted, if they will continue to occupy their intervals of leisure creditably and profitably as Irving, Bancroft, Motley and Schuyler have done in their several fields.

Mr. Motley was a life-long friend of Mr. Charles Sumner, who had been graduated from Harvard a year before himself, and with whom his relations were always of a most intimate character. When the occasion came in the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency, Mr. Sumner used his personal influence to obtain for his

friend the mission to Vienna, to which he was accredited in November, 1861. Here he passed six years with credit to himself and honor to his country, easily winning by his attractive manners and rare accomplishments the esteem and friendship of the most distinguished men in the literary, diplomatic and social circles of this old aristocratic capital.

In 1867, in consequence of some personal differences with his Government, Mr. Motley resigned his position and returned to the United States. This year also appeared the last two volumes of his *History of the Netherlands*.

On the 16th December, 1868, Mr. Motley delivered the Anniversary Address before the New York Historical Society, his subject being "Historic Progress and American Democracy." It was a memorable occasion, the enormous building, the Academy of Music, being literally packed from floor to ceiling by the crowd which thronged to hear him in spite of the severely inclement weather; an evidence of his popularity, and the more striking, as his was a purely literary fame. This address was masterly, chaste and in almost classic chiselling, new in philosophic deduction, and warmed with passages of philanthropic tenderness. It was in this speech that he said that "in England the First Lord of the Treasury is Prime Minister for Her Majesty the Queen. Here the President is Prime Minister for His Majesty the People." In introducing him to the audience, Mr. Hamilton Fish, the President of the Society, said of him "that his name belongs to no single country, and to no single age. As a statesman and diplomatist and patriot, he belongs to America; as a scholar, to the world of letters; as a historian, all ages will claim him as her own." Mr. Verplanck, on moving the vote of thanks, warmly commended the skill with which different periods of history had been contrasted and compared, and the genial and hopeful philosophy which pervaded the sketch; and Mr. Bryant, who seconded the motion, said that "he had made the story of the earlier days of the Dutch Republic as interesting as that of Athens and Sparta, and as having infused into his narrative the generous glow of his own genius."

After the inauguration of General Grant, Mr. Motley was again called upon to represent the country abroad, and was appointed to the Court of St. James. Here his own independence of character, or, as is claimed by others, his strong friendship for Mr. Sumner, brought him into an antagonism with the State Department, which led to his recall in 1870.

Relieved from public service, he again took up his history, accepting an invitation from the Queen of Holland to visit her at the Hague. In 1874 he sent to press "The Life and Death of John of Barneveld, Advocate of Holland; with a View of the Primary Causes of the Thirty Years' War."

This work is complete in itself, though the natural sequel of the earlier histories. The Netherlands were the scene of hot turbulence and angry strife during the long period of service of the great statesman, whom the historian claims to have been second to none of his contemporaries; of John of Barneveld, Advocate and Seal Keeper of the Province of Holland. Mr. Motley says that, "if William the Silent was the founder of the United Provinces, Barneveld was the founder of the Commonwealth itself." In the character and trial of the stern Advocate, who had governed Holland for nearly a generation, and now cut off from friends and advisors, awaited judgment and certain execution, Mr. Motley found a theme as capable of strong dramatic effects as he could desire. We know of nothing more striking than the description of the Advocate's confinement in the Binnenhof, or of the manner in which the 'terrible old man' appeared before his judges, leaning upon his staff, his sense of right leading him to dwell with more astonishment upon the possibility that justice could be so perverted than on his own danger. The partiality of the historian of the House of Orange leads him here into no defence or apology for the cruel vindictiveness of the Stadholder. The author holds that even balance which should be the aim of every historian.

It is understood that at the time of his death Mr. Motley was engaged upon a history of the Thirty Years War, which he had selected for the crowning effort of his historic labor. He leaves a field open, with all the benefit to be derived from his own published works, if any be found bold enough to snatch the pen from his fallen hand, and bear it on to fame. Whither shall we turn for his successor? Parkman, fortunate as Prescott or Motley in the choice of an untrodden field, has a life-long labor before him in the romantic story of French colonization.

Mr. Motley died of paralysis at Kingston Russell House, Dorsetshire, the residence of his son-in-law, Mr. Algernon Sheridan, Tuesday, May 29. Another son-in-law, Sir William Vernon Harcourt, M. P., well-known as "Historicus" of the *London Times*, is announced as soon to visit America, to collect materials for a life of the distinguished historian. Mr. Motley himself married a sister of Mr. Park Benjamin of New York. Mr. Motley was made Doctor of Laws by Harvard University and the University of the City of New York, and Doctor of Civil Law by Oxford, and was an honorary member of numerous literary and scientific societies, in America, England and on the Continent. In his disappointments, Mr. Motley appealed to the verdict of history for a vindication of his fame. His own histories will be read when ministers and ambassadors shall have passed away, at least from this hemisphere, as unnecessary appendages of the executive system.

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THE UNIFORMS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY

SEVERAL years since I had occasion to assist Major Francis Duncan, of Her Britannic Majesty's Royal Regiment of Artillery, in preparing his history of that distinguished Corps. Subsequently I undertook to write for the Institute of Officers, at the United States Military Academy, a sketch of the regular American Artillery, in which I had served for several years as an officer. Incidentally, during these researches, I made notes as to "uniforms," and, in response to a request from the N. Y. Historical Society, read to them in November last a paper on the "Uniforms of the American Army," upon which little had been written.

In 1859, the Hon. Charles H. Warren read a short paper before the Massachusetts Historical Society on the origin of the historic "blue and buff" uniform of the Revolutionary Army, in which he said, "many inquiries have been made, with very partial success, as to the time when it was first adopted as a military dress." (Mass. Hist. Proc., 1859, p. 149.) He also remarked that it did not appear this dress had ever been worn by any portion of the British Army, but in this he was mistaken. We know that during the Colonial wars the thirteen British North American provinces raised a large number of volunteer regiments, which were employed against the public enemy.

In 1755, Massachusetts alone had raised 8,000 soldiers, about one-fifth of her able-bodied population. (Patton's History U. S., p. 243.) Baron Dieskau's defeat in that year (September 8, 1755) was wholly due to the Provincials. (IV Bancroft, p. 211.) In the campaign of 1758 Massachusetts raised 6,800 men. Of these, 2,500 served in garrison at Louisburg, and 300 joined Wolfe before Quebec. There were fourteen Provincial regiments, under Maj. Gen. Abercrombie, at Lake George and at Ticonderoga in 1758; the Provincials lost 422 killed, wounded and missing. (6 and 8 July, 1758; *vide* Jour. Prov. Officer, vol. x Hist. Mag. n.



s., p. 113.) In 1759, Massachusetts, says Mr. Bancroft, "sent into the field, to the frontiers and to garrisons, more than 7,000 men, or nearly one-sixth of all who were able to bear arms. Connecticut, which distinguished itself by disproportionate exertions, raised, as in the previous year, 5,000 men. New Jersey, in which the fencible men in time of peace would have been about 15,000, had already lost 1,000 men, and yet voted to raise 1,000 more." General Prideaux's command in taking Fort Niagara consisted of two New York regiments, besides a detachment of royal artillery, and other regulars; and Lord Amherst's command at Ticonderoga had 5,743 regulars and an equal number of Provincials (Bancroft, vol iv, pp. 319, 321, 323.)

The inquiry suggests itself, how were all these Provincial troops uniformed? Many of them, it is believed, were in plain clothes. Others, we know, wore the red coats of the British Army, furnished by the British Government, and in this garb some, if not all the Massachusetts troops, were clothed; particularly those at Louisburg. (Preble's Hist. Flag U. S., p. 132.) Still others were in Provincial uniforms, selected by the Provincial authorities, the prevailing color being blue, except where the troops acted as riflemen or rangers. Thus in the campaign of 1755 the New Jersey regiment of infantry, under Colonel Peter Schuyler, which formed part of Brigadier-General William Shirley's command in the operations against Fort Niagara, was denominated "the Jersey Blues." (Mante's Hist. Late War in America, pp. 29, 30.) We find also the following chronicle made as to the New Jersey troops: "New York City, 15 May, 1758. The New Jersey forces of between eleven and twelve hundred of the likeliest, well set men for the purpose, passed this place for Albany. They were under Col. Johnson, their uniform blue, faced with red, grey stockings and buckskin breeches." (Dunlap's Hist. N. Y., App. W., vol. ii, p. lxvi.) From this undoubtedly came the expression "Jersey blues." The uniform of the Virginia regiment of foot, commanded by Colonel George Washington, in the wars 1756-63, was blue and buff, and this was also the uniform of the first armed associators at Alexandria, of which he acted as Colonel ex-officio, in 1775. (J. F. D. Smyth's Tour in America, ed. 1784; 3d Sparks' Writings of Washington, p. 4.)

In New York we have still earlier record of the "blue uniform." Thus the New York militia artillery company of 1738, commanded by Captain John Waldron, and aggregating 85 officers and men, was called the "blue artillery company." (4 vol. Doc. Hist. N. Y., p. 138.) In 1724, according to Dr. O'Callaghan, a New York City trooper's coat was

scarlet, trimmed with silver lace, but by Act of 3d October, 1739, the color of the coat was changed to blue, and in 1744, and subsequently, the coats and breeches were blue, with gilt or brass buttons, scarlet waistcoats and hats, laced with silver or gold lace. (3d vol. Hist. Mag. n. s., p. 176.) In 1772-3, the uniforms of the battalion of independent foot companies of militia, under Colonel John Lasher, in New York City, were as follows (viii vol. Doc. Relating to Col. Hist. N. Y., p. 601): "Grenadier Co.—Uniform: blue, with red facings. Fusileers—blue, with red facings, bearskin caps. A brass plate on their caps, with the words, "Fusileers" and "*salus populi suprema lex.*" *The German Fusileers*, under Captain Sebastian Bauman, who subsequently commanded the battalion of artillery retained in service at the close of the Revolution, had a blue uniform, with red facings, silver lace, bearskin caps, and white plates, with the words, "German Fusileers." "*The Union*" was another company whose uniform was blue, with red facings, as also the "Light Infantry Company" and "Oswego Rangers"—the latter having small round hats, with brass plate against the crown, inscribed with the words, "Oswego Rangers." All had white underclothes, black half-gaiters and black garters. In addition to these, were the "Bold Forresters," whose uniform was a short green coat, small round hat, looped up at the side, and the word "Freedom" on a brass plate in front. The "Sportsman's Company," "Corsicans" and "Rangers" also had green coats with crimson or buff facings. Colonel Lasher's Battalion, as the "1st New York regiment of militia," fought gallantly at the battle of Long Island, 27th August, 1776. The 1st Company New York Militia Artillery had in 1772 (December 5) a uniform, which subsequently became the uniform of the regular American Artillery, viz.: "Dark blue, with red facings and red linings, white underclothes, black half-gaiters and garters."

Other provinces also had military organizations. Thus in Boston, Mass., were the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Co. of 1638, the "Governor's Corps of Cadets" of 1741, of which John Hancock was at one time the Colonel; the "Boston Train of Artillery," or Paddock's Artillery Company of 1763, whence subsequently came Colonels John Crane, Ebenezer Stevens, Henry Burbeck, and many other skillful artillery officers, and the "Boston Grenadier Company" of 1772, of which Maj.-Gen. Henry Knox was the Lieutenant. Rhode Island had its "Newport Artillery Company" of 1741, and its "United Train of Artillery" of 1774. Connecticut had its "First Company of Governor's Foot Guards" of 1771, uniformed in scarlet coats, turned up with black, buff cassimere waistcoats and breeches, and bearskin hats, and the "Second Company

Governor's Foot Guards" of 1774, uniformed in scarlet coats, with buff lappels, cuffs and collars, plain silver-washed buttons, white vests, breeches and stockings, black half-leggings and ruffled shirts. In Pennsylvania was the "First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry or Light Horse" of 1774 (still in existence), which participated in the battles of Trenton and Princeton, and wore dark brown short coats, faced and lined with white, white vests and breeches, high top boots, round black hats, bound with silver cord and a buck's tail; housings brown edged with white, and the letters L. H. worked on them; white belts, sword and carbine. (*vide*. Hist. Mass. Soc. Cincinnati. xiv vol. Army and Navy Jour. pp. 284, 316, 332, 348, 364, 380.) On 20 June, 1775, Washington reviewed in Philadelphia the three battalions of that city, together with the Artillery Company and City Troop. The Light Infantry Company of the first battalion, Colonel John Dickinson, is reported to have been uniformed in light blue and buff. (Potter's Amer. Monthly Mag., vol. vi, p. 32.)

Eventually, after the Revolutionary war had progressed for several years, *blue* became the prescribed color for the coats of the American Army. That it became the distinctive color of the American Army was undoubtedly due to the fact that it had always been the insignia of the Whigs, the Covenanters having adopted that color from the history of the ancient Israelites, who were enjoined to put upon the fringe of their garments a ribbon of blue. (Numbers xv, v. 8. 2d Laing, p. 105. Highmore's Hist. London Artillery Company, p. 108.)

According to Lord Macaulay, the appellation "Whig" is of Scotch origin, and was fastened on the Presbyterian zealots of Scotland, and transferred to those English politicians who showed a disposition to oppose the Court and treat Protestant non-conformists with indulgence. (I Macauley's Hist. Eng., p. 202.) During the English Civil War, the field of the "Long Parliament" flag was blue. Under the "Protectorate," says Commodore Preble, "we find a blue flag in use, bearing in the field the two shields of England and Ireland." Early in the Revolutionary War a flag, nearly resembling the "Long Parliament" flag, appears to have been used. In the battle of Long Island, however, the flag captured by the Hessian regiment Rall was of red damask, with the word "Liberty" upon it. This may have been a regimental color. (Hessian Narrative, ii vol. L. I. Hist. Soc. Mem., p. 437.) During the English Civil War the colors or flags were principally red for the Royalists, orange for the Parliamentarians, and blue for the Scotch. (Com. George H. Preble's Hist. U. S. Flag, pp. 118-133.) Orange or buff was also a Holland or Netherland insignia, and also dark blue. The

third regiment of foot in the British Army, commonly termed the "Bufs," or Holland Regiment, was raised in 1572 for service in that country, and had a red coat, with buff facings, buff waistcoats, buff breeches, and buff colored stockings. The particular shade of dark blue prescribed as the "Regulation" color for the coats of the American Army, had, towards the close of the last century, the distinctive appellation of "Dutch blue," as appears from a number of bills in my possession, rendered to regular artillery officers by fashionable Philadelphia tailors of the period. The regiment of Royal Horse Guards or "blues," raised by Charles II., wore a blue uniform with red facings, yellow bindings on their hats and buff belts. (Capt. Packe's Hist. Royal Horse Guards, pp. 32-37. Royal Warrant, 26 Jan., 1661.)

When King William III.'s Master General of the Ordnance, the Duke de Schomberg, was about to set sail from Chester for Ireland to meet the Irish forces of King James II., he issued a warrant in 1689, prescribing that the Royal Regiment of Artillery should have "blue coats, lined with orange, and brass buttons, and that their hats should be bound with the same color. Also that the drivers or carters in the regiment should wear grey coats, faced with orange." (I Duncan's Hist. Royal Artillery, p. 59.) Blue and buff, therefore, being the insignia of the Whigs in Great Britain, and typical of the British struggles for constitutional liberty, naturally became the colors of the Whig party in America. (Albemarle's Memoirs of Rockingham, ii, 276.)

It is not to be supposed, however, that these became at once the prevailing or principal colors in the American service. On the contrary, we know, either from the narrations of our ancestors, who were there, or from contemporary report, that at the affairs of Lexington and Concord the Provincials were without uniform. As to "Bunker Hill," Maj. General Henry Dearborn, subsequently Secretary of War, and General-in-Chief, who commanded the right company in Colonel John Stark's New Hampshire regiment, as captain, has said that, "Not an officer or soldier of the Continental troops *engaged* was in uniform, but were in the plain and ordinary dress of citizens." (VIII Hist. Mag., p. 272.)

No statute or regulation can be found in Virginia, or New Jersey, or Massachusetts, prescribing the dress of their troops. (Mr. Warren in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1859, p. 150; Adj. Gen. Stryker, N. J., 31 Oct., 1876.) The enlisted men of the 1st Virginia Regiment of Infantry were, however, in the year 1775 uniformed at their own expense in hunting shirts, leggings, and with bindings on their hats. (Lt. Col. Christian to Va. Convention, 19 Dec., 1775, IV Amer. Arch., 4th series, p. 92.) The

5th Regiment South Carolina Riflemen was similarly uniformed. (S. C. Prov. Cong., 22 February, 1776).

On this subject, a curious fact was related, before the Massachusetts Historical Society, by Mr. Charles Francis Adams, relative to Washington, when a delegate to the 2d Continental Congress, which organized in Philadelphia, 10th May, 1775. Immediately after that body met, the official accounts of the affairs of Lexington and Concord were laid before it (Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., June, 1858, p. 70): "The next thing we know of Washington," said Mr. Adams, "is that he is attending the meetings, dressed in a military uniform, and giving useful advice on all military questions. This fact, which only comes down to us incidentally through an allusion to it in a letter of John Adams to his wife, had ever struck the speaker (Mr. C. F. Adams) with great force, as developing the state of feeling of Washington at this period; for, it should be remembered, that he was not at the time acting in any military capacity; neither does it appear what was the uniform he wore—probably that of a Colonel of Virginia Militia. Certainly, the attendance of any member of a deliberative body, dressed in uniform, would be regarded as startling at this day. Mr. Adams said he had always construed this as Washington's way of announcing that his mind was made up, and that he was ready to take his place in the ranks in any capacity to which his country should call him." A few days later he was elected General and Commander-in-Chief of the American Army, and arrived at Cambridge 2d July, 1775.

Dr. Thatcher, in his Military Journal for the 20th of that month, says that Washington's dress was a blue coat, with buff-colored facings, buff underdress, &c. Twelve days after his arrival at Headquarters, Cambridge, he issued the following order on the subject of uniforms: "To prevent mistakes, the General officers and their aides-de-camp will be distinguished in the following manner: The Commander-in-Chief by a light blue ribband, worn across his breast, between his coat and waistcoat. The Majors and Brigadiers General, by a pink ribband, worn in like manner. The aides-de-camp, by a green ribband." (General Orders Hdqrs., Cambridge, 14th July, 1775.) A few days later, this General Order was followed by another, which was as follows: "As the Continental Army have unfortunately no uniforms, and consequently many inconveniences must arise from not being able always to distinguish the commissioned officers from the non-commissioned, and the non-commissioned from the privates, it is desired that some badges of distinction may be immediately provided; for instance, that the field officers may have red or pink

colored cockades in their hats; the captains, yellow or buff, and the subalterns, green. They are to furnish themselves accordingly. The sergeants may be distinguished by an epaulette or stripe of red cloth sewed upon their right shoulder; the corporals by one of green." * * * (General Orders Hdqrs., Cambridge, 23 July, 1775.) On the next day he issued an additional General Order, as follows; "It being thought proper to distinguish the Majors from the Brigadiers General by some particular mark, for the future the Majors General will wear a broad *purple* ribband." (General Orders Hdqrs., Cambridge, 24 July, 1775.) He also urged the officers "to put themselves in proper uniform." (General Orders Hdqrs., Cambridge, 11 Dec., 1775, and 5 Jan., 1776.)

Two portraits of Washington represent him with this light blue ribband, viz.: the one intended for the Stadtholder of Holland, and captured en route by Captain Keppel of the British Navy in 1780, and the other, which was painted for Louis XVI. of France.

From these arose the statement, even very recently repeated, that Washington was a Marshal of France, because he commanded the French forces in this country under the Count de Rochambeau. To this it is sufficient to say; 1st, that a garter blue ribbon was *not* the badge of a Marshal of France; 2d, that Washington commanded the French according to the pre-arranged understanding; and 3d, because he held the commission of "General and Commander-in-Chief," while Rochambeau was only a Lieutenant-General. His Aids-de-Camp, certainly as early as the winter of 1777-8, wore the same blue and buff as their Chief. (Correspondence of Col. John Laurens, A. D. C., 9 February, 1778, p. 120.)

In November, 1755, Congress, after having obtained the views of the New England Governors and of Washington, resolved, 4th November, that the clothing for the army be paid for by stoppages out of the men's pay; "that it be dyed brown, and the distinctions of regiments made in the facings." "Brown," therefore, for the time being, became the regulation color, and Washington ordered the Colonels upon the new establishment "to settle as soon as possible with the Quartermaster-General the uniform of their respective regiments, that the buttons may be properly marked, and the work finished without delay." (General Orders Hdqrs., Cambridge, 13 Nov., 1775; I. J. Greenwood, p. 32, VI Vol. Potter's Amer. Monthly.)

Connecticut in the following year undertook to uniform her regiments in brown, instead of the scarlet formerly worn by the troops of that province. (I Amer. Arch., 5th series, p. 455.) In June, 1775, the

New York Provincial Congress (28 June) directed the State Commissary (Col. Peter T. Curtenius) to purchase for the four New York infantry regiments, then raising, sufficient cloth to make 712 short coats; for each, as follows: "1st. Coarse blue broad cloth with crimson cuffs and facings. 2d. Light brown coarse broad cloth with blue cuffs and facings. 3d. Grey coarse broad cloth with green cuffs and facings. 4th. Dark brown coarse broad cloth with scarlet cuffs and facings."

As New York raised other regiments, the Provincial Congress directed that the coats of each regiment be made with different facings, as in the British Army. (Res. 4 July, 1775; II Vol. 4th series Amer. Arch., pp. 1329, 1334, 1338.) General Washington had been in New York, on his way to Cambridge, on 25 June, 1775, and undoubtedly then wore his uniform of blue and buff. In the Journals of the New York Committee of Safety for 16th July, 1775, appears a letter from Captain John Lamb, commanding the New York Artillery Company, Continental Army, in which he requests that their clothing may be "blue with buff cuffs and facings." The Committee accordingly ordered "that their clothing be blue, faced with buff." (II Vol., 4th series, Amer. Arch., p. 1791.) This is the first instance of any "Revolutionary" troops being uniformed in the old Whig Royal Artillery uniform of William and Mary's reign. Captain Lamb's company did gallant service, and suffered severely, at Quebec, under Brigadier-General Montgomery.

We have now arrived at the year 1776. In the month of January (6th January, 1776) a second artillery company was ordered to be raised by the New York Provincial Congress, to which Alexander Hamilton was subsequently appointed Captain. This company, with many vicissitudes of consolidation and incorporation, still exists as a foot battery [F] in the 4th U. S. Artillery, being the oldest living unit of organization in the regular army. In March (4th March, 1776), the New York Provincial Congress ordered it to be furnished with sufficient coarse blue cloth to make a coat for each man, the expense to be deducted from his pay. Whether the facings were red or buff, the record does not indicate, but it is quite probable they were red, as being the color heretofore of the Provincial Artillery companies. Alexander Hamilton was not appointed its captain until ten days later.

As other regiments were raising in New York than the first four, and as there was a great scarcity of the proper cloth to make the uniforms of, the State Commissary was directed by the New York Committee of Safety (26 March, 1776) to provide frocks of the most proper cloth he may be able to procure; and as a firm in Albany had just imported from

Canada a sufficient quantity of woollen cloth, blue, grey and brown, to clothe two regiments, he was enabled (by the Albany Com., 11th April, 1776) to procure enough for that purpose. (V Amer. Arch., 4 series, p. 857; Res. N. Y. Prov. Cong., 24 June, 1776; I Amer. Arch., 5 series, p. 203.) It is, therefore, evident that in the years 1775 and 1776 the regiments of the New York Line were respectively clothed in blue, brown or grey broad-cloth.

At this time Colonel Anthony Wayne was in New York City, with three companies of his regiment, the 4th Pennsylvania, aggregating 234 men, the remainder being in Philadelphia. (Res. U. S. Cong., 20 Feb., 1776.) The fear that the British on evacuating Boston would proceed directly to New York had hastened their arrival. The Colonel's letter (of 26 April, 1776) to John Hancock, President of Congress, graphically depicts the condition of his men. Said he: "The three companies that are here were obliged to march without a single waistcoat, and but one shirt per man, and *most of them too small*, although made of the worst linen." Very possibly the efforts of the 200 Pennsylvanians to get into their solitary, but too small, shoddy shirts, gave rise to *some* of that profanity against which Washington soon had to issue such pointed General Orders. (G. O. Army Hdqrs., N. Y., 3d Aug., 1776; "New England troops did not formerly swear." *vide*. Brig. Orders—Parsons,—West Point, 30 July, 1779.)

In July, 1776, from his Head-quarters in New York, Washington issued the following General Orders (G. O. Hdqrs., N. Y., 24 July, 1776):

The General, being sensible of the difficulty and expense of providing clothes, of almost every kind, for the troops, feels an unwillingness to recommend, much more to order, any kind of uniform; but as it is absolutely necessary that men should have clothes, and appear decent and tight, he earnestly encourages the use of hunting shirts with long breeches made of the same cloth, gaiter fashion about the legs, to all those yet unprovided. No dress can be had cheaper or more convenient, as the wearer may be cool in warm weather and warm in cool weather, by putting on under clothes, which will not change the outward dress, winter or summer; besides, it is a dress justly supposed to carry no small terror to the enemy, who think every such person a complete marksman."

This may be set down as the date of introduction of the modern trouser or pantaloon; because the troops from that time forth, with exceptional instances, wore the overall, which came down over the shoe, with a strap underneath, and buttoned at the ankle with four buttons. In a

campaigning country like America, the British soon saw the advantage of this garment and adopted it for that service. They also imitated the Americans in the two rank formation instead of three—a tactical arrangement which subsequently became general. (Tactics by Lt. Col. Wm. Dalrymple, Queen's Royal Regiment, Ed. 1782, pp. 9-11.)

In the battles of Long Island and White Plains, and the affair of Harlem Heights, the Americans were almost wholly without uniforms, except the New York and Maryland troops, the Delaware regiment, and some of Pennsylvania—the officers being alone distinguished from their men by the colored cockades of their grades, and the riflemen by a white band on the arm. (General Orders, Harlem Heights, 8 Oct., 1776) As the Hessian uniform was dark blue, with red facings, and as the Delaware regiment of Continental infantry, under Colonel John Haslet, was in the same uniform, a small British detachment was captured in the action of the 27th August, in consequence of mistaking the Delawares for the Hessians. (II Vol. *Memoirs Long Island Hist. Society*, p. 180.; Captain Robert Johnson's [Recruiting Officer, 1 N. Y. Regt.] advertisements in *Gaines' N. Y. Gazette*, 26 Sep., 1776: "N. Y. soldiers in dark or light blue, grey or brown, faced with green;" John Sullivan Martin's statement in II Vol. *L. I. Hist. Memoirs*, p. 509; *Memoirs of Capt. Alex. Graydon*, 5th Pa., p. 147; Capt. Sam'l Gilbert's [Col. Prescott's 7th Mass.] advertisement in *Continental Gazette*, 12 July, 1776; Capt. Andrew Peters, of Col. Jos. Read's 13th Foot, in *Continental Gazette*, 1 June, 1776; Capt. Benjamin Gates, in Col. Jonathan Hotman's Mass. Infantry, *Continental Gazette*, 21 August, 1776; Capt. Jan. L. DeWitt's, of Colonel Johannes Hardenberg's N. Y. Regiment, at Greenwich, *Continental Gazette*, 24 July, 1776; Capt. Jas. Robison, of Col. Johannes Hardenberg's Regiment, at Greenwich, *Continental Gazette*, 21 August, 1776; IV Vol. *Hist. Mag.*, p. 344: Mass. advertisement for supply of clothing.

Captain Graydon, in his *Memoirs*, has left us a sketch of the Connecticut Light Horse, who came to New York City for a tour of service in July, 1776. He says they consisted of a considerable number of old-fashioned men, probably farmers and heads of families, as they were generally middle-aged, and many of them apparently beyond the meridian of life. * * * Instead of carbines, they generally carried fowling-pieces, some of them very long, and such as in Pennsylvania are used for shooting ducks. Here and there one, "his youthful garments, well saved," appeared in a dingy regimental of scarlet, with a triangular, tarnished, laced hat (p. 155). The newspaper of the day said: "Some of these worthy soldiers assisted in their present uniforms at the first

reduction of Louisburg, and their 'lank, lean cheeks, and war worn coats,' are viewed with more veneration by their honest countrymen than if they were glittering Nabobs from India, or Bashaws with nine tails." (*N. Y. Packet*, 11 July, 1776.)

It appears that the State of Connecticut early in 1776 sent to Colonel Jedediah Huntington's regiment red coats which had been on hand and belonged to the Colony. Whether they were worn at the battle of Long Island, it is impossible to determine. The 1st, 2d and 3d New Jersey Continental regiments of infantry, respectively commanded by Lieut.-Colonel William Winds, and Colonels William Maxwell and Elias Dayton, were this year in the Northern Army, under Major-General Horatio Gates, and wore the New Jersey Provincial dark blue uniforms, although not the only troops in that command thus uniformed. (G. O. Hdqrs., Ticonderoga, 21 August, 1776.)

In the court-martial records of the period, we find that an infantry Lieutenant was tried "for assuming the rank of a Captain—wearing a *yellow* cockade, and mounting guard in that capacity." (G. O. Hdqrs., N. Y., 15 August, 1776, Lieut. Jacob Holcomb's case, Col. Philip Johnson's New Jersey Regiment Militia.)

Captain Graydon, 5th Pennsylvania, in his memoirs, says that the officers of Smallwood's gallant Maryland battalion "exhibited a martial appearance by a uniform of scarlet and buff, which, by the bye," says he, "savored somewhat of a servility of imitation, not fully according with the independence we had assumed" (p. 180). At the capture of Fort Washington Captain Graydon was taken prisoner, and confined in the barn of Colonel Morris' house, more recently known as the late Madame Jumel's. "Here," says he, "were men and officers of all descriptions, regulars and militia troops, Continental and State, some in uniforms, some without them, and some in hunting shirts, the mortal aversion of a red coat." (p. 207. See also Deposition Priv. Wm. Darlington of Captain Wallace's Company, Pa. Flying Camp, 15 December, 1776, III Amer. Arch., 5 series, p. 1234.)

The uniform of Washington's Guard, commanded by Captain Caleb Gibbs, was in June, 1776 (it having been formed 12th March, 1776—G. O. Hdqrs., Cambridge, 11 March, 1776), a blue coat, faced with buff, red waistcoat, buckskin breeches, and black felt hat, bound with white tape. The bayonet and body belts were also white. (Gaines' *N. Y. Gazette*, 17 June, 1776.)

A deserter from Capt. William Kelly's company, riflemen, at Bergen, had on a short red coat and striped trousers. (Gaines' *N. Y. Gazette*



and *Weekly Mercury*, 17 June, 1776.) Another deserter from the 5th Regiment New Jersey Militia (Capt. George Anderson's company, Colonel Silas Newcombe's Regiment) had on an old wool hat, bound with yellow binding, a coarse, blue short coat, no under jacket, old leather breeches, light blue stockings, and, according to the advertisement, pretty good shoes and brass buckles. (Hugh Gaines' *N. Y. Gazette*, 29 July, 1776.)

Captain Moses Rawling's company of Maryland riflemen wore green hunting shirts, and leggings to match. (*Constitutional Gazette*, 12 June, 1776.) These riflemen, like Colonel Daniel Morgan's 11th Virginia, whose uniform was white, had long smock-frocks or shirts of thick linen cloth or woollen, with furbelows, or ruffled strips of the same material around the neck, on the shoulders, at the elbows, and about the wrists; a broad, white belt over the left shoulder for the cartridge box; a black stock; hair in a cue; and a broad brimmed, round topped, black hat; leggings reaching to the shoe.

In 1776, New York appears to have had some of the best uniformed regular troops. (II Amer. Arch., 5 series, p. 1135.)

There was no uniformity, however, in colors or facings. In the Pennsylvania regiments of the Continental line, the 1st Pennsylvania Infantry had brown coats, faced with buff (Col. John Philip De Haas); 2d Pennsylvania, blue coats, faced with red; round black hats, black ferreting or binding (Col. Arthur St. Clair); 3d Pennsylvania, brown regimental coats, white facings, pewter buttons with No. 3 upon them; black cocked hats, with white tape binding, and buckskin breeches (Col. John Shee); 4th Pennsylvania, blue regimental coats, white facings (Col. Anthony Wayne); 5th Pennsylvania, blue regimental coats, with white facings (Col. Robt. Magaw); 6th Pennsylvania, blue regimental coats, with red facings (Col. Wm. Irvine).

Some of the militia riflemen who fought at Long Island and White Plains had black hunting shirts; others white, and still others, yellow, green or blue. (IV Hist. Mag., p. 352.)

According to an official return rendered in December, 1776, the first Continental regiment Light Dragoons, which had been raised in different parts of Virginia, marched to join General Washington, having some of its companies uniformed in blue coats, faced with red, and others in brown coats, faced with green. All, however, had leather breeches. (III Vol. Amer. Arch., 5 series, p. 1270.)

During the war this regiment was successively commanded by Colonels Theodoric Bland and Anthony Walton White.

So great became the need of clothing, during the retreat across the Jerseys in December, 1776, that the *charitably* disposed citizens of Philadelphia were appealed to to furnish their *old and cast-off* clothing for the American Army, which was duly distributed by General Washington before the battle of Trenton. (III Amer. Arch., 5 series, pp. 1245-1271.)

The regiment of artillery commanded by Colonel Henry Knox had at this time no uniform, each enlisted man being in the garb which he probably wore on enlistment. (*vide*. advertisements of deserters, Gaines' *N. Y. Gazette*, 17 June, 1776.)

In 1777, and subsequently, the uniform for the four regular regiments constituting the Corps of Artillery was a blue or black coat, reaching to the knee, and full trimmed, lappels fastened back, with ten open-worked button holes in yellow silk on the breast of each lappel, and ten large regimental yellow buttons, at equal distances, on each side; three large yellow regimental buttons on each cuff, and a like number on each pocket flap. The skirts to hook back, showing the red lining; bottom of coat cut square, red lappels, cuff linings, and standing capes; single-breasted white waistcoat, with twelve small yellow regimental buttons, white breeches, black half gaiters, white stock, ruffled shirt, and at the wrists, and black cocked hat bound with yellow; red plume, and black cockade, gilt handled small sword, and gilt epaulettes.

In the Navy, Massachusetts in 1776 prescribed green coats and white facings for her officers. (Res. Mass. Council, 29 April, 1776.) The United States prescribed for its Navy officers blue coats, with red facings, red waistcoats, blue breeches, and yellow buttons; and for its marine officers a green coat, with white facings, white breeches, edged with green, white waistcoat, white buttons, silver epaulettes, and black gaiters. (Res. Marine Com., Philadelphia, 5 Sept., 1776.) The uniform of the marines of the Pennsylvania Navy was a brown coat, faced with green, letters I. P. B. on the buttons, and a cocked hat (I Pa. Arch., 2 series, p. 234); and in this uniform, under Captain William Brown, they joined General Washington, and fought at Trenton and Princeton.

As uniform clothing soon became scarce, Congress and the States respectively undertook to provide for the officers as well as the men (XII Vol. Penn. Col. Rec., pp. 241, 278, 358, 417; Lt. Isaac Guion, 2d U. S. Arty., to Col. John Lamb, Arty. Park, Totoway, 15 Oct., 1780); regulating the price to be charged. (Res. Cong., 25 Nov., 1779.) Thus each officer was entitled to one watch coat; one body coat; four vests, one for winter and three for summer; four pair breeches, two for winter and two for summer; four shirts; four stocks; six pair stockings, three

pair worsted and three pair thread; and four pair shoes. (*vide*. Receipts of Arty. Officers in Lt. Col. Ebenezer Stevens' Papers.)

Captain Graydon, having been paroled by the British, proceeded from New York to Washington's Headquarters at Morristown, in July, 1777. In his diary from this place, he says (p. 278): "The period for * * unity of color, however, had not yet arrived; though, from the motley, shabby covering of the men, it was to be inferred that it was rapidly approaching. Even in General Wayne himself there was in this particular a considerable falling off. His quondam regimental, as Colonel of the 4th Battalion, was * * blue and white, in which he had been accustomed to appear with exemplary neatness; whereas he was now dressed in character for McHeath or Captain Gibbet, in a dingy red coat, with a black rusty cravat, and tarnished laced hat." In a colored engraving, published 2d January, 1778, in London (by John Morris), Major-General Gates is represented as dressed in a red coat with buff facings. (Preble's Hist. U. S. Flag, p. 164.)

During the Revolutionary War, Congress passed many resolutions with a view to obtain, principally abroad, uniform suits of green, blue and brown colors, with suitable facings. (Res. 3 Jany., 1776, as to brown and blue cloths and different colors for facings; 19 June, 1776, as to buckskin breeches and waistcoats; 8 Oct., 1776, as to annual allowance, including linen hunting shirts; 23 Oct., 1776; 3 Dec., 1776; 31 Dec., 1776; 5 Feb., 1777; 6 Sept., 1777, price of articles for soldiers; 14 Sept., 1777; 10 June, 1778, as to purchasing different kinds of buckles, red cadis for lining of uniforms—serge, both scarlet, sky-blue, brown and white for linings, spatterdashes for soldiers, cloth for officers and soldiers; 18 Jan. 1781, prescribing soldier's allowances.)

At the battles of Stillwater and Saratoga, in 1777, the greater portion of the infantry of the army under Major General Gates, were without uniforms. The Hessian officer, Briefvechsel, in corroborating this statement, says that a "few of the officers wore regimentals, and those fashioned to their own notions, according to cut and color. Brown coats with sea-green facings, white linings, silver trimmings, and grey coats in abundance, with buff facings and cuffs and gilt buttons; in short, every variety of pattern." (I. Vol. Ruttenber's History Newburgh, p. 280.) Trumbull, in his painting of Burgoyne's surrender, now in the Rotunda at the Capitol, faithfully depicts the clothing worn on that memorable occasion by the American troops. From buttons and other articles found on those battle fields, and now in the possession of C. I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York city, it is evident that nearly, if not quite all the militia fought in their ordinary farmer's dress.

The sufferings of the troops for the want of clothing culminated in the years 1777-8, prior to assistance from France. Col. John Bayard, in writing to President Wharton, of Penn., thus referred to Brig.-Gen. Wayne's Division of the Pennsylvania Line: "*Plymouth, Dec. 4, 1777.*— * * * * The New England men well clothed. * * * * * General Wayne assures us if he had not sent out officers to buy clothing of every kind through the country his troops must have been naked, and now there are above one third that have neither breeches, shoes, stockings, blankets, and are by that means rendered unable to do duty, or, indeed, keeping the field. It is truly distressing to see these poor naked fellows encamped on bleak hills, and yet when any prospect of an action with the enemy, these brave men appear full of spirits and eager for engaging. Yesterday it was expected Gen. Howe would come out. Our Army was drawn out to receive him, and continued under arms until 10 o'clock. (VI. Pa. Archives, p. 61.) In the Rhode Island Contingent of Continentals or regulars, consisting of the 1st and 2d regiments of infantry, respectively, under Colonels Christopher Greene and Israel Angell, the distress for proper uniforms was so great that Brigadier-General J. M. Varnum, who inspected them on the 27th August, 1777, wrote as follows: "The naked situation of the troops, when observed parading for duty, is sufficient to extort the tears of compassion from every human being. There are not two in five who have a shoe, stocking, or so much as breeches to render them decent." Despite what they had thus suffered, these regiments, a few days later, highly distinguished themselves at "Germantown" and "Red Bank." (Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc., 1860-2, p. 220; II Vol. Arnold's History R. I., pp. 405-8.)

Referring to the uniform of the American Army at Valley Forge in the winter of 1777-8, Inspector-General Baron de Steuben wrote as follows: "The description of the dress is most easily given. The men were literally naked—some of them in the fullest extent of the word. The officers who had coats, had them of every color and make. I saw officers, at a grand parade at Valley Forge, mounting guard in a sort of dressing gown, made of an old blanket or woolen bed cover." (Steuben's Ms. papers, Vol. XI., quoted in Kapp's Steuben, p. 117.) Captain Peter S. Duponceau, an aide-de-camp to Steuben, says: "Once, with the Baron's permission, his aids invited a number of young officers to dine at our quarters, on condition that none should be admitted that had on a whole pair of breeches. This was, of course, understood as *pars pro toto*; but torn clothes were an indispensable requisite for admis-



sion, and in this the guests were *very* sure not to fail. The dinner took place. The guests clubbed their rations and we feasted sumptuously on tough beefsteaks and potatoes, with hickory nuts for our desert. Instead of wine we had some kind of spirits, with which we made 'salamanders;' that is to say, after filling our glasses, we set the liquor on fire and drank it up, flame and all. Such a set of ragged, and at the same time merry fellows, were never brought together. The Baron loved to speak of that dinner, and of his '*sans culottes*,' as he called us. Thus this denomination was first invented in America, and applied to brave officers and soldiers of our revolutionary army." (Kapp's Steuben, p. 119.) In 1780 Steuben recommended to Washington for all the infantry linen hunting shirts and overalls, with small round hats cocked up on one side, and good shoes, as the most convenient uniform of the season. (West Point, 22 July, 1780—Kapp's Life Steuben, p. 282.)

When Sir Henry Clinton stormed Forts Montgomery and Clinton, on the Hudson, in October, 1777, he sent one Daniel Taylor with a message to Burgoyne, in a silver bullet, announcing the fact. At New Britain, back of West Point, he fell in with a picket guard of Colonel Samuel B. Webb's Third Connecticut Continental infantry, under Lieutenant Howe, who were clothed in *red coats*, captured in a British transport, and which, for need of clothing, there had not been time to dye blue. Deceived by their appearance, and being informed they belonged to "Clinton's forces," he made known his character. He was sent before a General Court Martial as a spy, duly convicted, sentenced and executed under the orders of Brigadier-General George Clinton, of the American Army. (Notes in Vaughan's 2d Expedition, by G. W. Pratt, Ulster Co. Soc.: G. O. Hdqrs, Marbletown, 16 Oct., 1777.)

Major General Charles Lee, in his defense before the General Court Martial for his conduct at "Monmouth," made the point that the regiments of his division had "no uniforms or distinguishing colors." (*vide* official record, published by Congress, Lord Stirling, Pres. Gen'l Court-Martial, 9 Aug., 1778.)

In the year 1779 Congress (Res. 23 Mar. 1779,) "authorized and directed the Commander-in-Chief, according to circumstances of supplies of clothing, to fix and prescribe the uniform, as well with regard to color and facings as the cut or fashion of the clothes to be worn by the troops of the respective States and regiments—woolen overalls for winter and linen for summer, to be substituted for the breeches." Accordingly General Washington issued the following specially noteworthy and rare order, by which dark blue became for the first time the "national color:"

"The following are the uniforms that have been determined for the troops of these States respectively, so soon as the state of the public supplies will permit of their being furnished accordingly; and, in the meantime, it is recommended to the officers to endeavor to accommodate their uniforms to the standard, that when the men come to be supplied, there may be a proportionate uniformity.

New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut.	} Blue, faced with white; buttons and linings white.
New York and New Jersey.	} Blue, faced with buff; buttons and linings white.
Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia.	} Blue, faced with red; buttons and linings white.
North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.	} Blue, faced with blue; button-holes edged with narrow white lace or tape; buttons and linings white.
Artillery and Artillery Artificers.	} Blue, faced with scarlet; scarlet linings; yellow buttons, yellow bound hats. Coats edged with narrow lace or tape, and button holes bound with same.
Light Dragoons.	} The whole blue, faced with white; white buttons and linings."

(G. O. Hdqrs. New Windsor, 2 Oct., 1779.)

The Continental Army, prior to this historic order, certainly had variegated uniforms, beyond those already mentioned. Thus the 9th Virginia, 5th Maryland, 9th Pennsylvania, U. S. Invalid Regiment and 13th Pennsylvania, and 2d Canadian of the Line, had brown coats, faced respectively with red, green, buff and white.

The 13th Virginia, 2d and 3d New Jersey, 3d and 11th Pennsylvania, and 7th Maryland of the Line had blue coats, faced respectively with yellow, red, and white. The 6th Maryland Regiment of the Line wore grey coats, faced with green, grey waistcoats and grey breeches. The 1st and 3d South Carolina Regiments and 6th Virginia had black coats, faced with red, while the 5th South Carolina, Colonel Thomas Sumpter, had for the officers red coats, faced with black. Lt. Colonel H. Lee's Cavalry of the Legion had blue short coats, faced with white, white waistcoats and black breeches. (IV Vol. Hist. Mag., p. 354.) The 4th Regiment Light Dragoons, Colonel Stephen Moylan's, green short coats, turned up with red, red waistcoats, buckskin breeches, and leather cap, turned up with bearskin. The previous year the regimental coat had been red. (*N. J. Gazette*, 13 May, 1778.) The 3d Virginia Continental Infantry, under

Colonel Thomas Marshall; Colonel Nathan Hale's New Hampshire Regiment, and Lieut. Colonel Levi Pawlings' New York Regiment of new levies of infantry each had *sky blue* coats, with pale blue and red facings, respectively. (Res. Cont. Cong. to Gov. Henry, Va., 10 June, 1778; Holt's N. Y. Jour., 1 March, 1779; Lt.-Col. Eb. Stevens' Papers, Albany, 14 Nov., 1777.)

In 1846, the 2d New York Volunteers, and other troops in the war with Mexico, wore pale or sky blue jackets and pantaloons; and again in 1863 Government prescribed the same martial uniform for the Veteran Reserve Corps of wounded and disabled officers. Lieutenant N. White, 10th Pennsylvania Regiment, in 1779, having advertised a deserter, who had escaped from the guard, refers to the patriot's attire, and says: "*N. B.* Said Cline was graced with handcuffs when he made his escape." (*N. J. Gazette*, 18 Aug., 1779.) History does not inform us whether the article mentioned was charged to the prisoner or lieutenant.

The American Army owed much at this period (1780), in the way of obtaining uniforms, to the exertions of the amiable Marquis de Lafayette, who even "bargained with French merchants to supply the officers of his Light Division with superfine blue regimental coats and trimmings, and blue waistcoats and breeches, for four guineas each." He also presented each of his officers with a handsome small sword. (Capt. George Fleming, 2d Art., commanding Light Battery, to Col. John Lamb, 2d Art., Dobb's Ferry, 23 Sept., 1780, Lamb Papers, N. Y. Hist. Soc.)

"Many of the troops were still (1780) almost naked, both officers and men." (Marquis de Lafayette to Gov. Jas. Bowdoin, Hdqrs., Morristown, 30 May, 1780, in Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc, 1860, p. 348.)

On the Sabbath day, from his Headquarters, Short Hills, New Jersey, 18th June, 1780, Washington issued a General Order, prescribing, apparently for the first time, the uniform of general officers, and of the staff generally. The order was as follows: "As it is at all times of great importance, both for the sake of appearance and for the regularity of service, that the different military ranks should be distinguished from each other, and more especially at the present, the Commander-in-Chief has thought proper to establish the following distinctions, and strongly recommends it to all officers to endeavor to conform to them as speedily as possible. The Major Generals to wear blue coats, with buff facings and lining, yellow buttons, white or buff underclothes, two epaulettes, with two stars upon each, and a black and white feather in the hat. The stars will be furnished at Headquarters. The Brigadier Generals, the same uniform as the Major Generals, with the difference of one star

in the place of two, and a *white* feather. The Colonels, Lieut. Colonels and Majors, the uniform of their regiments and two epaulettes. The Captains, the uniform of their regiments and an epaulette on the right shoulder. The Subalterns, the uniform of their regiments and an epaulette on the left shoulder. The Aides-de-Camp, the uniform of their ranks and Corps, or, if they belong to no Corps, of their General officers. Those of the Major Generals and Brigadier Generals to have a green feather in the hat. Those of the Commander-in-Chief, a white and green. The Inspectors, as well Sub. as Brigade, the uniforms of their ranks and Corps, with a *blue* feather in the hat. The Corps of Engineers and that of Sappers and Miners, a blue coat with buff facings, red lining, buff underclothes, and the epaulettes of their respective ranks. Such of the Staff as have military rank to wear the uniform of their ranks, and of the Corps to which they belong in the line. Such as have no military rank to wear plain coats, with a cockade and sword. All officers, as well warrant as commissioned, to wear a cockade and side arms—either a sword or genteel bayonet. The General recommends it to the officers, as far as practicable, to provide themselves with the uniforms prescribed for their respective Corps by the regulations of Congress, published in General Orders, the 2d of October last." (G. O. Hdqrs., Short Hills, 18 June, 1780.)

Soon after, General Washington forbade officers to make any alteration in the prescribed uniform. (G. O., Hdqrs., Pracaness, 19 July, 1780.) He also directed that the feathers to be worn by Major-Generals, should have *white* below and *black* above, and recommended to the officers to have white and black cockades, a black ground with a white relief, emblematic of the expected union of the two armies, American and French. The French uniform for the infantry of the line was then white. (*vide* G. O. Hdqrs., Totoway, 15 Nov., 1780, as to officers paying strict attention to uniforms.)

Cockades were rosettes of leather or silk, worn on the hat by all military men. The chapeaux bras, which are to-day worn by the General and staff officers of the American Army, have the black cockade. When the citizens of New York met, on the evening of 20th November, 1783, to arrange for the celebration of the anticipated evacuation by the British, it was resolved: "That the badge of distinction, to be worn at the reception of the Governor on his entrance into this city, be a *Union* cockade of black and white ribband, worn on the left breast, and a laurel in the hat."

In 1781, according to President Joseph Reed of Pennsylvania, blue

cloth was not then procurable in this country at any rate or price, so the Pennsylvania Line for that time had to receive hunting shirts. (VIII Hist. Mag., pp. 16, 130, 135, 138.) At this time, as throughout all that period, an officers' uniform included ruffled shirts, worsted gloves and red sash; and a soldiers', woolen mitts. (*vide*. Maj. Gen. Robert Howe's Orders as to uniform for Mass. Div., New Windsor, 5 Jan., 1781, Whiting's Order Book, p. 164.) Sergeants were distinguished by worsted sashes, and corporals by shoulder knots. Subsequently sergeants had shoulder knots on each shoulder, and corporals on the right only. (G. O. Hdqrs., Newburgh, 14 May, 1782.) In providing for the uniforming of her troops, by purchases in Europe in 1780 (8th July), the State of Pennsylvania ordered "6,000 shoe buckles, 6,000 knee buckles, 6,000 stock buckles, and 10,000 ivory fine-teeth combs." It is presumable that the Commonwealth must have known what was then most needed by its troops. (XII Pa. Col. Rec., p. 418.)

In the field such American regiments as had hunting shirts were required to wear them. (G. O. Hdqrs. Newburgh, 18 and 27 Aug., 1782.) A radical change in the uniform of the infantry was prescribed in the following orders of Washington, but it did not become effective. "The Honorable Secretary at War having been pleased to direct that the uniforms of the American cavalry and infantry shall in future be blue ground, with red facings and white linings and buttoned, the General gives this early notice that provision be made accordingly, before the Army shall receive their clothing for the present year; the Corps of Artillery is to retain its present uniform, and the sappers and miners will have the same." (G. O. Hdqrs. Newburgh, 5 Dec., 1782.) The non-arrival of the clothing, expected from Europe, induced General Washington to order the soldiers to turn and repair their coats, and scarlet cloth was to be furnished by the Secretary of War, on his return to Philadelphia, so that many regiments could have their coats refaced. (G. O. Hdqrs. Newburgh, 23 Feb. and 14 April, 1783.) The Secretary of War did not, however, find any scarlet cloth, and General Washington issued a General Order, in which he said: "Notwithstanding the proposed alterations in the uniforms of the infantry and cavalry, it appears necessary, from inevitable circumstances, that all light infantry companies shall be clothed in blue coats faced white until further orders." No further orders came, and thus the uniform became fixed. (G. O. Hdqrs. Newburgh, 3 Mar., 1783.) A few regiments obtained scarlet cloth for facings.

According to Major General de Chastellux, the Light Infantry under

Lafayette's command in 1782 all wore helmets of hard leather, with a crest of horsehair instead of the usual black felt cocked hats. (*Journal of de Chastellux travels in N. Amer.*, ed. 1827, p. 58.) This Light Infantry organization in the Army was peculiar. Each infantry regiment then had one Light Infantry company, which, upon commencement of field operations, was usually detached, and with enough other Light Infantry companies arranged to form a regiment, whose field officers were specially selected from the field officers of the Army. These regiments were then brigaded, to form a Light Infantry Division, under a general officer, and a sufficient Light Artillery assigned for the campaign.

In the two authentic portraits of Lafayette, respectively in the Massachusetts and New York Historical Societies, he is represented, with exceptions to be noted, in the uniform of the Light Infantry of the Army, which he commanded at different times, viz.: dark blue coat, with white facings, buttoned back, so as to display the white facings and linings; standing collar or cape of red; white waistcoat, with, however, gilt buttons instead of white; white breeches; white cravat instead of black for infantry, and ruffled shirt; the hair powdered and cued, and face clean shaven. He also has the gold epaulettes of his rank, instead of the silver epaulettes of the infantry; but as his Light Division was a mixed corps of artillery and infantry, he possibly felt at liberty to slightly modify his uniform, with sanction of the Commander-in-Chief.

During the Revolution the prescribed dress for chaplains was black. (XII. Pa. Colonial Rec., p. 358.) All regimental company officers had to carry espontoons, or half pikes, six feet two inches long, and this custom was not abolished until some time after 1802. (G. O. Hdqrs. Newburgh, 9 Aug., 1782; De Chastellux's *Travels in N. Amer.*, p. 45; G. O. Hdqrs., Greenville, O., 6 Feby., 1796; G. O. Hdqrs. Loftus Heights, 7 Mar., 1799; G. O. Hdqrs. Pittsburgh, 8 May, 1801.) The knapsacks and haversacks of the soldiers were usually of linen or Russia duck. The canteens were of wood, painted oak being preferred. (I Amer. Arch., 5 series, pp. 288, 384, 616, 832 and 1346; Qr. Mr. Stores Waste Book, West Point.)

In 1782 General Washington, apparently at suggestion of Brigadier-General John Patterson, established the practice of rewarding faithful enlistment by authorizing a "service stripe to be worn on the arm, of the same color as the facings of the soldiers' corps in which he served the enlistment, and a like additional stripe for each succeeding period of service." (Brig. Orders, West Point, 17 June, 1782; G. O. Hdqrs.

Newburgh, 7 and 11 Aug., 1782.) This regulation still prevails in the American Army. (G. O. 92, War Dept., A. G. O. 26 Oct., 1872.)

From what has been said, it is plain that but few troops ever wore the "blue and buff," and after General Washington's "uniform" order of 1779, it was worn only by general officers, unattached aides, the First and Second New York Continental Infantry, First and Second New Jersey Continental Infantry of the Line, Corps of Engineers, Sappers and Miners, and Washington's body guards, who were selected men from the infantry arm (G. O. Hdqrs. Valley Forge, 17 Mar., 1778.)—altogether numerically few.

When the Revolutionary War ended, one regular regiment of infantry, denominated the "First American Regiment," formed from companies selected from the Massachusetts Brigade and First New Hampshire Infantry, and two companies of the Corps of Artillery were retained in service. (G. O. Hdqrs. West Point, 23 Dec., 1783.) The uniform of this infantry regiment was dark blue, with white facings, white linings, black cocked hats, white hat bindings, white worsted shoulder knots, white buttons, silver epaulettes for officers, white cross-belts, black stocks, white under-dress, black gaiters and black plume.

The Artillery uniform remained as heretofore; dark blue faced with scarlet, scarlet linings, yellow buttons, yellow binding for black felt cocked hat, and yellow edging of button holes; white under-dress, gold epaulettes for officers; and yellow worsted shoulder knots for non-commissioned officers, and buff belts, white cravats and black plume with red top.

According to the testimony of competent judges, the American infantry in 1782-3 was equal to the best troops of the time. Even the French officers were struck with admiration at the manœuvres executed in their presence. (Kapp's *Life Steuben*, p. 644; G. O. Hdqrs. Newburgh, 13 and 12 Aug., 1782.) At Stony Point and Yorktown they had particularly acquitted themselves with credit. (Maj. Gen. de Chastellux's travels, pp. 64-71; G. O. Hdqrs. Verplank's Point, 19 and 24 Oct., 1782.)

It is pertinent to add that the two New York Continental regiments of infantry were particularly noticeable for military merit, they having been originally raised early in 1776 "for the war." (G. O. Hdqrs. Newburgh, 20 May and 5 June, 1782.)

The Corps of Artillery during the revolution became specially distinguished. At Monmouth the British were forced to admit that no artillery could be better served. (G. O. Hdqrs. Freehold, 29 June,

1778; Holt's N. Y. Jour., 13 July, 1778.) In the action at Quaker Hill, Rhode Island, the American artillery "did great execution, and contributed not a little to the honor of the day." (Maj. Gen. John Sullivan to Gen. Washington, 29 Aug. 1778.)

The commanding General, Sullivan, apparently could not say enough on the subject, for in his General Orders, 30 August, 1778, he declared that the corps of artillery truly merited his thanks and applause, and that of his army; and on August 31, 1778, in his report to Congress, "*that the officers of artillery deserve the highest praise.*"

At Yorktown the capacity and instruction of the artillery officers, all native Americans with one exception—Major Sebastian Bauman—and the extraordinary skill and progress exhibited in the science of artillery, and the precision of their fire, surprised the French—who did not hesitate to take future advantage of improvements there manifested. (Leake's Life of Lamb, p. 281; De Chastellux's travels, p. 71; Hist. Mass. Soc. Cincinnati, p. 156; G. O. Hdqrs. Yorktown, 20 Oct. 1781.)

The regular cavalry emulated the example of the other corps, and distinguished themselves at Fort St. George, Rugley's Farm, Cowpens, Eutaw Springs, and in many small affairs. (G. O. Hdqrs. Morristown, 29 Nov., 1780; G. O. Hdqrs. New Windsor, 6 Jan., 1781, as to 3d dragoons; G. O. Hdqrs. New Windsor, 14 Feb. 1781, as to 3d dragoons.)

During the period of the confederation the troops retained substantially the revolutionary uniform. The cavalry had brass helmets with white horse hair. (Secty. War to Saml. Hodgden, 4 Aug., 1792.)

Their swords were "long horseman's swords, steel mounted." Officers of Artillery and Infantry had swords of sabre form, respectively yellow mounted and steel mounted, two feet six inches in length for each company officer, and three feet in length for each field officer.

The distinctive "shoulder strap of dark blue edged with red" now made its first appearance. (G. O. War Dept., N. Y., 30 Jan., 1787.) In 1791 the knapsacks of the 1st (now 3d) U. S. Regiment of Infantry were covered with bearskin, and soon hair knapsacks were generally issued to the troops, instead of painted linen ones. (Gen. St. Clair's Narrative, ed. 1812, p. 205; Qr. Mr. Stores Waste Book, West Point.) Subsequently the soldiers of the four infantry "sub-legions," or regiments, under Major General Anthony Wayne, in 1792, had caps with different plumes, as follows:

1st Sub-legion, white binding with white plumes and black hair. 2d Sub-legion, red binding, red plumes with white hair. 3d Sub-legion, yellow binding, yellow plumes and black hair. 4th Sub-legion, green

binding, green plumes and white hair. (G. O. Hdqrs. Pittsburgh, 7 Sep., 1792.)

In 1796 the infantry had dark blue coats reaching to the knee and full trimmed, scarlet lappels, cuffs and standing capes, retaining white buttons, white trimmings and white underdress, black stocks and cocked hats with white binding. The traditional shoe and black half gaiters (seven inches long) were now replaced, for foot officers, by black top boots. (G. O. Hdqrs. Greenville, 16 Feb. 1796.) In 1794 the artillery received helmets with red plumes. (Sect. War to Qr. Mr. Gen. Sam. Hodgdon, 14 July, 1794; Qr. Mr. waste book—ordnance—West Point.) The coats of the musicians remained red with blue facings, blue waistcoats and breeches, silk epaulettes for chief musician. (G. O., War Dept., N. Y., 30 Jan., 1787.) At a very early period in the British Army this uniform had been that specially reserved for the drummers of the "Royal" regiments, it being the royal livery. (System of Camp Discipline, London, 1757, p. 43.) The red coat continued to be the uniform of drummers in our service to 1st January, 1857. The same uniform is retained for the drummers of the United States Marine Band of the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

During the Revolutionary war the Continental Corps of Artillery which then constituted an elite corps, under Brigadier-General Henry Knox of the Artillery, had a Band of Music. This band was frequently paraded by General Washington's orders for duty at the execution of deserters, &c. (G. O. Hdqrs., Morristown, 18 Feby., 1780; XIV Vol. Pa. Col. Rec., pp. 95, 423, 438.)

Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Lee's Legion also had a band (XIII Vol. Pa. Col. Rec., p. 758); other regiments also appear to have had bands, noticeably the Second New York Regiment Continental Infantry, under Colonel Philip Cortland. As per bill for musical instruments, rendered Governor George Clinton by First Lieutenant Michael Connolly, Paymaster Second New York Infantry in 1783, the regiment had, besides drums and fifes, two French horns, two bassoons and four clarionets. (Clinton Mss., No. 4,477, State Library, Albany.)

In 1795, the First Regiment Artillery and Engineers, stationed at West Point, had a band of twenty pieces, supported by the officers and men. (Qr. Mr. Waste Clothing Book, West Point.) This band was uniformed in scarlet coats, dark blue facings and linings, yellow silk epaulettes, helmets with scarlet plumes, cockades, dark blue vests and pantaloons, and black gaiters. In 1798, the then General-in-Chief, Wilkinson, organized a band from the enlisted men, and attached it to the Second

United States Infantry, their extra pay being contributed by subscription. (G. O. Hdqrs., Pittsburgh, 7 January, 1798; G. O. Hdqrs., Chickasaw Bluffs, 23 August and 2 September, 1798; G. O. Hdqrs., Loftus Heights, 14 January, 1799.)

Congress, with a policy of economy in this respect not generally imitated by foreign powers, never until 1861 recognized by direct statute regular bands, but left it to the officers and men of each regiment, from their meagre pay, to support them as best they might, under the mere sanction of Army Regulations.

At the present time Congressional legislation has left to the Army but one statutory band, viz., that of the Military Academy, which is but little larger than the band of the First Artillery and Engineers at the same post in 1795.


In 1799 the white plume was again prescribed for the infantry, and after many intermediate changes, it is to-day the one worn by that arm of service. (G. O. Hdqrs., Loftus Heights, 2 Jan., 1799; G. O., Hdqrs., Natchez, 26 Feb., 1800, containing Maj. Gen. Hamilton's approval.)

The infantry officers were now required to wear half-boots, white pantaloons and white vests, double-breasted. (G. O. Hdqrs., Loftus Heights, 19 January, 1791.)

Early in this year, President John Adams prescribed a uniform for the army. Cavalry to have green coats and white facings, and the infantry and artillery blue coats and red facings. Cavalry musicians to wear white coats, and of the other arms, red coats—the chief musician to wear two worsted epaulettes. Sergeants, each to wear one red worsted epaulette on the right shoulder, and corporals on the left. Company officers no longer to wear plumes. Cadets to have a strap on right shoulder. (War Dept., Philadelphia, 9 Jan., 1799.)

In 1800, further changes were ordered, but not having met with favor in the service, the old uniform before 1797 was restored. (G. O. Hdqrs., Fort Adams, 30 March, 1800; Inspector's Office, Washington, 10 September, 1800.)

By this uniform order of 1800, the cavalry coat remained green, but with black facings, white vests and breeches, top-boots, and a helmet of leather, crowned with black horse hair, and having a brass front representing a mounted dragoon in the act of charging; the officers' helmets having green plumes. Black and red plumes, intermingled laterally, were prescribed for the artillery; white for infantry. Pantaloons or overalls of blue, edged with red in winter, and white in summer, were now again prescribed for all the foot troops. Artillery soldiers to have



wings on the shoulders, edged with red. Red silk sashes for commissioned officers, and worsted for non-commissioned officers. Foot officers, instead of half-gaiters, were allowed to wear half-boots, edged at the top with red, peaked in front, and with black tassels. The musicians to wear scarlet coats, with blue facings and white linings. The button-holes of white worsted lace, with frogs. The chief musician to have two blue worsted epaulettes. Cadets to wear a red plume, and have a gold strap with fringe on left shoulder. Sergeants to have a yellow worsted epaulette on the right shoulder, and corporals on the left. (G. O., Hdqrs., Fort Adams, 30 March, 1800.)

In 1802, under President Jefferson, the uniform of the line was a dark blue coat, reaching to the knee, revolutionary cut, with scarlet lappels, cuffs and standing collar, single-breasted white vests, having for the infantry white linings, white buttons and white skirt facings, and for the artillery scarlet linings, scarlet facings and yellow buttons. The enlisted men wore round hats, with brim three inches wide, and with a strip of bearskin, seven inches wide and seven inches high, across the crown (G. O. Hdqrs., Greenville, 26 June, 1795); black cockade, eagle and white plume. Their pantaloons were of dark blue in winter and white in summer, and they wore black half-gaiters, seven inches long, and white cross-belts. The officers of infantry and artillery wore chapeaux bras with cockade, eagle and white plume, white breeches and boots. Artillery officers had gold epaulettes, one or two, according to rank; yellow buttons and hat trimmings, and gold sword mountings. Infantry officers had, in like manner, silver epaulettes, white hat trimmings, and steel sword mountings. Each wore a white belt, three inches wide, across the shoulder, with an oval breast-plate, three inches by two and a half, ornamented with an eagle, and of gold or silver, to correspond with the buttons. (Col. H. Burbeck, 1st U. S. Arty., to Lieut. James R. Hanham, 20 March, 1811.) This remained the uniform of the infantry until 1810, when single-breasted coats, without facings, but with silver lace, extending horizontally from the button-holes, came into fashion, and the present shaped civilian's "silk" hat also came into use. (Regimental Order, Cantonment Washington, 5 Aug., 1810.)


Standing collars of enormous proportions had begun to be prescribed in 1802, when they were to be worn not less than three inches nor more than three and a half inches high, but in 1812 the collar was required "to reach the tip of the ear, and in front as high as the chin would permit in turning the head." In this year (1812) many changes were made in the uniform. All officers of the General Staff had to wear cocked

hats without feathers, single-breasted coats, with ten yellow-gilt bullet buttons, the button-holes worked with blue-twist in herring-bone form, and embroidered. Vests and breeches or pantaloons, white or buff, for General officers, and white for others, with permission to wear blue pantaloons in winter and nankeen in summer. High military boots and gilt spurs; waist-belts of black leather; no sashes. The rank and file were put into coatees or jackets of the fashion worn by the light artillery and cavalry of the American Army in 1872, when the uniform was changed, and leather caps with bell crowns, yellow eagle in front, containing number of the regiment, white pompons, and black leather cockade, were substituted for the traditional felt hat.

As yet company officers still wore the chapeaux bras and white feathers, but their coats had to be of the same general description as of the general staff, and with collars and cuffs uniformly blue. The officers of the Ordnance Department wore the same uniform as the artillery officers, with a distinctive button. The medical officers were now put in lugubrious black, their coats to be of the same fashion as for the general staff, but with a star of embroidery on each side of the collar. From 1787 their uniform had been a double-breasted, dark blue coat, of same shape as that for the infantry, but with yellow buttons and skirt facings, collars, lappels and cuffs of same material as the coat, and white underclothes. In 1809, this uniform had been changed to a single-breasted coat, with collar trimmed around with gold lace, and button-holes laced; chapeaux bras, with black ostrich feather, and cockade and eagle, and small sword or dirk, yellow mounted.

In 1812, the uniform of the first rifle regiment, organized in 1808, was gray cloth for coats, vests and pantaloons, and the three additional regular rifle regiments raised for the war with Great Britain were clad in the same gray uniform, which continued to be the distinguishing color of that arm of the service, until it was dispensed with in 1821. When, however, the regular voltigeur regiment was raised for the war with Mexico, gray as a uniform was prescribed for that corps, as well as for other foot riflemen. (Army Regulations, 1 May, 1847.)

To turn back a little. The embargo of 1807, and commercial Non-intercourse Act of 1810, and subsequent blockade of the American coast, prevented the importation in any quantity of blue cloth, so that when the regular army was largely increased at the commencement of the war with Great Britain, Government had to put its troops in gray, now known as Cadet gray. At the battles of Chippewa Plains and Niagara in 1814, the army under Major-General Jacob Brown was almost wholly



clad in gray. (Prof. D. B. Douglas, LL. D., late Prof. Engr., West Point, in II Vol. Hist. Mag., 3 series, p. 12.) In honor of these victories, the Cadets of the United States Military Academy, who had then by law been wholly separated from any of the artillery regiments, were put in this uniform in 1815. (Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott to Benson J. Lossing in Lossing's Field Book, War 1812, p. 806, note.) They were also required to wear common round hats of the shape of the present civilian silk hat, "with black silk cockade and yellow eagle, and cut and thrust swords, yellow mounted, with a black gripe, in a frog belt of black morocco over the coat."

In President Monroe's Army Regulations for 1821, approved by Congress, "dark blue" was declared to be the "national color," though scarlet coats were still prescribed for company musicians, and gray for the corps of cadets. The company officers of artillery now had to give up their chapeaux bras, and put on the leather caps, but their yellow insignia was restored in the shape of yellow pompons, and white for infantry.

The buttons for the artillery and infantry then received the devices still used. Before that time, the Corps of Artillery had its own design; the light artillery, the initials L. A.; the infantry, a regimental number; and the rifles, a bugle. Captains and lieutenants of artillery and infantry respectively were designated by chevrons of gold or silver lace, one on each arm, above the elbow, for captain, and below for lieutenant, the angle pointing upwards.

In 1832, President Jackson ordered the restoration to the army uniform of the facings, which as a private soldier he had seen worn during the Revolution by American officers, but, from want of information, many mistakes were made. (G. O. Hdqrs., Washington, 11 June, 1832.)

In 1861, the State of New York supplied the 2d New York Infantry, and many others of its volunteer regiments, with gray uniforms, just as it had furnished the 2d New York Infantry in 1776 with a like uniform. As the Confederates adopted the same color for their regulars, and butternut brown for their militia and irregulars, the United States' troops were soon found clothed in the regulation Whig blue or Union color, with yellow buttons, black felt hats and black feathers, and gilt epaulettes for officers. Those volunteer regiments which had received gray uniforms made haste, although at their own expense, to draw the national blue coats, and in this emblematic color they fought in defense of the Union.

At the present day, the infantry coats have the white edging, stripes,

facings, and plume of the Revolution, and the artillery the red plume, red facings and yellow buttons of the same period. Of the "blue and buff," General officers alone retain buff sashes and buff colored body belts, to partially denote their rank.

Probably no portion of the uniform gave so much trouble to the authorities, in attempting to regulate, as the cut of the hair. During the Revolution, as was universally the custom, military men wore their hair clubbed or cued and powdered, and their faces clean shaved. We find numerous orders on this subject. Thus one of Washington's, "that at general inspections and reviews 2 pds. of flower and $\frac{1}{2}$ pound of rendered tallow per 100 men should be issued for dressing the hair. (Brig. Orders [Patterson's], Steenrapi, 12 Sept., 1780; G. O., Army Hdqrs., Newburgh, 12 Aug., 1782; Regt. Orders, 16 Mass., Lancaster, Penn., 12 Jan., 1778; Regt. Orders, 16 Mass., Cambridge, Mass., 9 Sept., 1777.) Subsequently one-quarter of a pound of flower per man was issued weekly, for the purpose of powdering the hair, and all were to be clean shaven. (G. O., Army Hdqrs., Greenville [Wayne's], 21 Nov., 1794; G. O., Army Hdqrs., Loftus Heights [Wilkinson's], 19 Jan., 1799.) Lieut. Colonel Francis Marion's orders on this subject, when he commanded the 2d South Carolina Regiment, show him to have been a good deal of a martinet. They were as follows: "Sullivan's Island, S. C., January 23, 1778. Parole, Egypt.— * * * * As long hair gathers much filth, and takes a great deal of time and trouble to comb and keep clean and in good order, the Lieut. Col. recommends to every soldier to have his hair cut short, to reach no further down than the top of the shirt collar, and thinned upwards to the crown of the head, the foretop short, without toupeé, and short at the side. Those who do not have their hair in this mode, must have it plaited and tied up, as they will not be allowed to appear with their hair down their backs and over their foreheads, and down their chins at the sides, which make them appear more like wild savages than soldiers. The Major will please pick out three men to be regimental barbers, who are to be excused from mounting guard, or doing fatigue duty. They are daily to dress the men's heads, and shave them before they mount guard, the men to pay them half a crown a week each man. Any soldier who comes on the parade with beard or hair uncombed, shall be dry-shaved immediately, and have his hair dressed on the parade. The orderly sergeant, or corporal of companies are to call on and see the barbers dress and shave their men that are for duty, and see that they are clean and their clothes put on decently, or must expect to answer for their neglect. The commissioned officers

are desired to pay attention to their men's dress at all times, particularly when for duty. No officer to take charge or march off a guard without the men have complied with the above orders, and are as clean and decent as circumstances of clothing will permit * * * *"
(vide. Gibb's Documentary Hist. S. C., 1776-1782, p. 66.)

Major-General Alexander Hamilton, when General-in-Chief, prescribed the mode of dressing the hair on a thin piece of wood, and bound with a black silk rosette, 1 1-2 inches in diameter for officers, and of leather for the men. (G. O. Hdqrs., Fort Adams [Wilkinson's], 30 March, 1800.) The cue was not allowed to be more than ten inches long.

The order in 1801 to cut off their hair, issued by Brigadier-General James Wilkinson, then General-in-Chief, caused great indignation among the veteran officers, who looked upon it as a "French innovation." It was as follows: "For the accommodation, comfort and health of the troops, the hair is to be cropped without exception, and the General will give the example." (G. O. Hdqrs., Pittsburg, 30 April, 1801.) This was followed by another, which said: "That whiskers and short hair illy accord; they will not, therefore, be permitted to extend lower than the bottom of the ear. The less hair about a soldier's head, the neater and cleaner will he be." (G. O. Hdqrs., Wilkinsonville, 29 July, 1801.) Of these orders the first, as to cropping the hair, is still in force. The second, as to wearing whiskers in any other manner than thus prescribed, was not rescinded until 1853; and then it was prescribed and still is the regulation that "the beard may be worn at the pleasure of the individual, but must be kept short and neatly trimmed." (G. O. Army Hdqrs., A. G. O., 12 June, 1851; G. O. Army Hdqrs., A. G. O., 6 Jan., 1853: Arty. Battalion Orders, Fort Constitution, N. H., 22 March, 1819.) For the Corps of Cadets there is still the regulation, which is strictly enforced, that, "the hair is to be short, or what is generally termed cropped; whiskers and moustaches shall not be worn." (Par. 168 Academic Regulations.)

In 1801 there was an old and distinguished officer, Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Butler, commanding the Second Regular Infantry, who had entered the Second Pennsylvania Infantry as a First Lieutenant in 1776 (St. Clair's regiment, 5 Jan.), served through that war with honor, been wounded, and again twice wounded in St. Clair's defeat in 1791 (4 Nov.); he solemnly declared he would not cut off his much prized cue. General Wilkinson did not then press the matter, but issued the following order (G. O. Hdqrs. Wilkinsonville, 2 August, 1801): "Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Butler, at his particular request, and in

consideration of his infirm health, has permission to wear his hair. On the subject of this measure the General will briefly observe that it has been sanctioned in America by the first military characters of the British and American armies, that it has been recommended by the ablest generals who have lived, and has been adopted by the best troops in the world, and that the cut of the hair is as essential a part of military uniform as the cut of the coat or color of the facings." Afterwards Wilkinson withdrew the indulgence, and as Colonel Butler persisted in a cue, he sent him, in 1803, before a General Court Martial of his own appointment, on this, for disobedience of orders and other matters. He was acquitted of the other charges but sentenced to be reprimanded, which gave Wilkinson an opportunity to indulge in invective and sarcasm, and to again order Colonel Butler to cut off his hair. The latter, in a personal interview, refused (Wilkinson to Sect. of War, Wash., 25 Oct., 1804, War Dept. files.) and having gone to New Orleans and assumed command, committed anew the breach of orders. At this time an artillery officer, writing home, said: "Colonel Butler wears his hair and is determined not to cut it off." (New Orleans, 10 Nov., 1804, Lt.-Col. Constant Freeman.) For this Wilkinson sent him before another General Court Martial for "wilful, obstinate and continued disobedience of orders, and for mutinous conduct." The Court sentenced him to suspension for one year, but before the order was issued the veteran had been gathered to his fathers, and was buried with his cue. (Obit. 5 Sept., 1805; G. O. Hdqrs. Ft. Adams, 25 May, 1803, appointing Court; G. O. Hdqrs. New Orleans, 1 Feb. 1804, promulgating proceedings; G. O. Hdqrs. Washington, 15 Feb, 1805, appointing the second Court; G. O. Hdqrs. St. Louis, 20 Sept. 1805, promulgating proceedings.)

These proceedings gave rise to discussion, and to a vigorous protest to Congress from Major General Andrew Jackson and other militia officers and citizens in Tennessee. (I. Vol. State Papers Mil. Affairs, p. 172.) Some years later Congress took from the Commanding General the power to appoint a General Court on an officer when he is the accuser. (Act 29 May, 1830.)

In 1801, just after the order had been issued that cues must fall, the Secretary of War, Dearborn, visited Fort Adams, Newport, Rhode Island. Fortunately the commanding officer, Major William McRea, of the Second Regiment Artillery and Engineers, had an intimation of his coming and acted accordingly. In a letter to his chief he thus referred to the event: "We are a pretty set of crops here, agreeable to the late General Order. There is not an hair an inch long on my head. This

order was more reluctantly complied with than any order I have ever yet seen issued this way. I cannot conceive why the greatest ornament to a soldier should be thus lost." (Maj. MacRea to Lt.-Col. H. Burbeck, First Arty. and Engrs., 30 July, 1801.)

The accomplished officer who wrote this letter undoubtedly expressed the sentiments of his brother regular officers; for, although ever keenly alive to and ready to take advantage of progress in military science, nevertheless as to the customs, traditions and precedents of the service, it may be said that no class could be more truly conservative, or opposed to innovations not imperatively demanded for the good of the service.

A description of the uniforms of the American Army after 1825 is easily accessible. For an earlier period the records of the War Department, in consequence of the fire of 8th November, 1800, and invasion of 24th August, 1814, contain but very meagre information on this subject. It has, therefore, been the effort in this paper to indicate the sources of information, and rescue some which have become almost destroyed.

ASA BIRD GARDNER

NOTE.—UNIFORMS.—In Colonel Trumbull's painting of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, the Colonels on foot, viz.: Colonels Huntington, Hamilton, Stewart, &c., of the infantry, have black round hats and plumes, of which lower part are black and upper part red. Infantry buttons and epaulettes, both white; artillery buttons and epaulettes, both yellow. Cockade; main part of the "rosette" black, with small white rosette on top. Brigadier-General Knox, of the artillery, wore a plume of which lower part was *white* and upper part scarlet, and scarlet facings to his uniform.

In the painting of Burgoyne's surrender by Colonel Trumbull, Colonel William Prescott, of the Massachusetts volunteer infantry, is represented in a brown uniform hunting shirt. Colonel Daniel Morgan, of the Eleventh Virginia regiment rifles, in a white fringed hunting shirt. An infantry officer, Lieut.-Colonel John Brooks, Eighth Massachusetts regiment, in white epaulettes, white buttons, white facings and white under clothes, and blue coat. Major Ebenezer Stevens, Chief of Artillery, in yellow epaulettes, yellow buttons, yellow lace on sleeves and button holes, blue coat with scarlet linings and facings, scarlet sash, buff vest and buff small clothes.

In Trumbull's painting of Washington resigning his commission at Annapolis, also in the Rotunda at the Capitol, General Washington's aids are in blue and buff. (Cols. Walker and Stuart.)

Colonel John Eager Howard, late of the Second Maryland Infantry of the Line, has white epaulettes, white buttons and red facings.

The uniform of general officers was blue and buff.

In the foregoing sketch, the General Orders which are cited, when not otherwise expressed, are to be understood as issued from "Army Headquarters" for the time being, and to be the orders of the General-in-Chief of the Army then exercising the office.

A. B. G.

WILLIAM SHIPPEN

PENNSYLVANIA DELEGATE IN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

Amongst those who emigrated from the mother country for the purpose of bettering their fortunes, and not to escape religious persecution, was Edward Shippen (b. 1639), a son of William Shippen of Yorkshire, gentleman. The family occupied a position of importance, for we find the Rev. Dr. Robert Shippen (a nephew of Edward Shippen) principal of Brazen Nose College and Vice Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Another nephew was William Shippen, the famous leader of the Jacobites, the "downright Shippen" of Pope, of whom Sir Robert Walpole repeatedly said, that he was not to be approached by corruption, and whose courage and integrity in Parliament procured for him (Dec. 4, 1717) the glory of a warrant of the House of Commons, committing him to the Tower for "reflecting on His Majesty's person and government."¹

Edward Shippen emigrated to Boston 1668, where he as a merchant amassed a handsome fortune. He brought with him his notions as a member of the Established Church, for he at once joined the Artillery Company, but in 1671 he married Elizabeth Lybrand, a Quakeress, and became a member of that sect.

The most cruel, the most unsparing persecutions and deeds of blood known in the history of the human race are those which have been done in the name of Christ. The Fathers in New England were not behind their brethren of other sects, and accordingly Edward Shippen shared in the "jailings, whippings and banishments," "the fines and imprisonments" inflicted on the inoffensive Quakers. In 1693, a meteor appeared, and therefore a "fresh persecution of the Baptists and Quakers" was "promoted," and reached such a pitch that Mr. Shippen was either banished or driven to take refuge in Philadelphia.² It seems to have taken about a year to dispose of his estate in Boston and transfer the proceeds to his new house (1693-94). He did not quit Boston without erecting a memorial on "a green" near to "a pair of gallows, where several of our friends had suffered death for the truth, and were thrown into a hole." He asked leave of the magistrates "to erect some more lasting memorial there, but they were not willing." His wealth, his fine personal appearance, his mansion styled "a princely palace," his talents and high character at once obtained for him position and influence.

Very soon after his arrival in Philadelphia (July 9, 1695) he was elected Speaker of the Assembly. Penn, who always gave the most anxious consideration to his selection of officers for the province, named him in the Charter, Oct. 25, 1701, the first Mayor of the City of Philadelphia. In 1702-4 he was President of the Governor's Council. In this last year he withdrew from the Society of Friends, and also from public life, although he continued to advise concerning public affairs until his death, October 2, 1712.³

His son Joseph Shippen (born at Boston, February 28, 1678-9, died at Germantown, 1741) removed to Philadelphia, 1704, with his father. In 1727 he joined Dr. Franklin in founding the Junto "for mutual information and the public good." It was the forerunner of our now numerous scientific institutions. One of the subjects to which special attention was given was practical anatomy. By his wife, Abigail Gross, of Huguenot descent (Le Gros) he left three children surviving him. The daughter Anne married Charles Willing.⁴

Edward, the elder, born July 9, 1703, generally known as of Lancaster, where he resided during the latter period of his life, was much esteemed and respected throughout the province. Among other claims to consideration, may be mentioned that he "laid out" Shippensburg, and was one of the founders (1746-48) of the College of New Jersey at Newark in that State, removed (1753) to Princeton, of which he was Trustee for twenty years. He was active in Church affairs. Of his two sons, Edward, the elder, became Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, and the younger, Joseph, a graduate of Princeton (1753), rose to the rank of Colonel in the Provincial Army.⁵ As such he commanded the advance of General Forbes' expedition for the capture of Fort Duquesne. He was also a poet of considerable merit. After the troops were disbanded, he made a visit to Europe, and on his return was made Secretary to the Province.⁶

The sixth child, and younger surviving son, was William Shippen, generally known as Dr. William Shippen, *the Elder*, more especially the subject of this paper because he was a member of the Continental Congress. He was born at Philadelphia, October 1, 1712, where he died, November 4, 1801. We are told that he applied himself early in life to the study of medicine, for "which he had a remarkable genius, possessing that kind of intuitive knowledge of diseases, which cannot be acquired from books." He seems to have inherited his father's eager desire to explore the domains of physical science, and no doubt that the Junto had its influence in shaping his course in life. An eminent

physician of this city says: "It is most probable that he acquired those ideas of the importance of the study (Practical Anatomy) which induced him to impress upon his son the propriety of making himself master of the science, in order to aid the establishment of those lectures he afterwards so ably delivered." There is no record, so far as I know, as to when and where he received his degree of Doctor of Medicine, but he speedily obtained a large and lucrative practice, which he maintained through a long and respected life. He was especially liberal towards the poor, and, it is said, not only gave his professional aid and medicines without charge, but oftentimes assisted them by donations from his purse. He was very successful in his practice, but was so far from thinking that medicine was much advanced towards perfection, that it is said, that when congratulated by some one on the number of cures he effected, and the few patients he lost, his answer was: "My friend, Nature does a great deal, and the grave covers up our mistakes." Conscious of the deficiencies for medical education in America, and animated by a patriotic desire to remedy them, Dr. Shippen trained his son for that profession; sent him to Europe, where he had every possible opportunity for obtaining a knowledge of the various branches, and on his return (May, 1768) encouraged him to commence a series of lectures on Anatomy in one of the large rooms of this building (the State House), and thus to inaugurate the first Medical School in America.

It has been stated that Dr. Shippen was one of the founders, and for many years a Trustee of Princeton College (Thacher), but that honor is due to his brother Edward, as already mentioned.* Dr. Shippen's son, however, was a graduate of the class of 1754, and for many years a Trustee of the College as well as his uncle. Dr. Shippen was by no means given to politics, but the outlook for the Americans at the close of the year 1778 was very dark and dreary. It was at this moment that he was called upon to take part in the Councils of the Nation. On the 20th November, 1778, he was elected to the Continental Congress by the Assembly of Pennsylvania. Daniel Roberdeau was one of his colleagues. The vote cast for Dr. Shippen, the elder, was 27. At the end of the year, November 13, 1779, he was re-elected. His advanced years and his professional duties would have furnished ample excuse to any less patriotic citizen for declining the thankless position; but an examination of the Journals of Congress* shows that Dr. Shippen was always steadily at his post, and that his votes and conduct were those of an honest, intelligent, high-minded, patriotic gentleman, who thought only of his country's welfare."

The Junto, in which Dr. Shippen took an earnest part, was, as already mentioned, more or less the origin of the American Philosophical Society. Of this latter institution he was for many years Vice-President. For twenty years he was first physician to the Pennsylvania Hospital. He was one of the founders of the Second Presbyterian Church, and a member of it for nearly sixty years. He was so very abstemious that he never tasted wine or any spirituous liquor until during his last illness. He possessed the powerful frame and vigorous health for which his race was noted. He rode on horseback from Germantown to Philadelphia, in the coldest weather, without an overcoat, and but a short time before his death walked from Germantown to his son's house in Philadelphia, a distance of about six miles." His mode of living was simple and unostentatious. His temper was so serene and forbearing that tradition says it was never ruffled. His benevolence was without stint. He lived beloved, and "at the great age of ninety years he bowed his reverend head to the will of his merciful Creator, regretted and lamented, and was buried in the graveyard of the church to which he had been so useful."

THOMAS BALCH

¹ Debates in Parliament, 1717-21, p. 20. ² It is quite possible that he was invited by Penn.

³ Address, etc., by Dr. W. E. Hornor; Hazard's Reg., x, 66; Hazard's Reg., iv, 241; Memoirs of James Logan, by Armistead, 39; Thomas Storey's Journal, London, 1718, 195-6, 223-6; Southey's Com. Place Book, 5, v; Oldmixon, i, 112.

⁴ Watson's Annals, i, 83-368 (2d ed.); Gabriel Thomas' Pennsylvania, London, 1698, 43;

⁵ There seems to have been as much confusion in regard to these Edwards and Josephs as in regard to the Doctors William Shippen. Mr. Griswold (Republican Court, p. 15) has fallen into a mistake. In the memoir of Chief Justice Shippen (Portfolio, 1810), by Dr. Charles Caldwell, Edward, the emigrant, is confounded with his grandson, Edward of Lancaster. Hazard's Reg., iv, 241, repeats the error. In Hist. Princeton College, by Dr. S. D. Alexander, Secretary Joseph Shippen is represented to be the son of Dr. William Shippen the elder instead of nephew, and brother to Dr. William Shippen the younger instead of cousin.

⁶ Records Pres. Ch., 98 et seq.; Catalogue New Jersey College, 1875; Introduction to Poets and Poetry of America, by R. W. Griswold; American Mag., 1757-60.

⁷ Contributions to Med. Hist. Penn., by Dr. Caspar Morris, Hazard's Reg., iv, 332.

⁸ Am. Med. Biog., by James Thacher, M. D., Boston, 1828, William Shippen.


⁹ Journals of Congress with "extract of Gen. Assembly of Penn.," Nov. 20th, 1778.

¹⁰ By some strange perversity which seems to attend the various members of the Shippen family, Dr. William Shippen, *the younger* (the son), has been of late years substituted for Dr. William Shippen, *the elder* (the father), as a member of the Continental Congress. The error, as far as I can trace it, appears to have originated in Lanman's Dict. of Congress, and to have been imported into the Cats. of Princeton and Univ. of Penn., Alexander's Hist. of Princeton College, &c. But besides Journ. of Congress and of Assembly quoted, other authorities are, Thacher citing the Med. Repos., Dr. Wistar's Eulog. on the younger Shippen, 1809, Journ. Med. and Phys. Science, Vol. II. Dr. Joseph Carson's Hist. Med. Dep. Univ. Penn.; Dr. Wood's Address on Cent. Celeb. of Penn. Hospital, &c., &c. ¹¹ Mss. of R. Buchanan, Esq.

NOTE.—A sketch prepared for the Congress of Authors which met at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Saturday, July 2d, 1876.

KEESE-ANA

A friend the other day made inquiry of me for some particulars respecting the late John Keese, of most excellent bookselling memory. It was a matter of regret with me that I could not refer him at once to any one of the copious American biographical Dictionaries, for Keese was a man who should not pass out of memory with the recollections of his many friends of the present fleeting generation. Perhaps some of your readers may be induced to supply the usual data of family, birth and death. I have only the recollection of him as the wittiest book auctioneer of his day in New York, and it may be said, of any day, for there is no tradition of any predecessor of such powers, and he certainly left no successor in his peculiar vein. This may be said without disparagement to the intellectual cleverness of the Sabins, Leavitts and Mervins of the present day—for Keese was really an extraordinary man, in the humorous handling of books and an audience, enlivening a sales room on the dullest of wet nights and under the most disadvantageous circumstances with the brilliancy of his wit. Few who attended his "Sales" did not carry away with them some recollection of his sparkling genius. It must have been a most impracticable book which did not in its subject, the name or associates of its author furnish some opportunity for his pleasantry; and if these fell short he could eke out his merriment with some innocent play upon his audience. Thus, if as sometimes happened, in default of a bidder he was driven to assign the book to some acquaintance in the company, who would naturally shake his head in refusal—the reply was instantaneous: "you needn't shake your head, there's nothing in it; and with a pause of a second or two, "I mean the book." "Is that binding calf?" asked a discriminating bidder, as if doubtful of the representation which had been made, a hesitation which was promptly allayed by the *argumentum ad hominem* "Come up my good friend, put your hand on it and see if there is any fellow-feeling." An auctioneer is bound to hold his own against all interlocutors. He is liable to all sorts of questioning and interruptions; but much of his success depends upon the maintainance of his powers in his seat of authority, his elevated pulpit. It is his business to control the audience and their purses. To do this he must keep his company in good humor, and least of all suffer any intellectual discomfiture. Keese never lost this superiority. It was dangerous, unless particularly



well armed, to enter into a contest with him. Any interruption of the business of the room was sure to be met by him, when no mischief was intended, in some gentle, playful way; but at the approach of anything like insolence the rebuke was severe. There was a story of a swaggering pretender who, to the annoyance of the receiving clerk, insisted upon offering a hundred dollar bill for some petty purchase, who received from the auctioneer something more than the pecuniary change he was in quest of, in abatement of his pride of purse. A customer, at another time, was disturbing the settled order of proceedings by calling out of season for the delivery of a copy of Watt's Hymns, which had been knocked down to him for a trifle. Learning the cause of the interruption: "Oh," says Keese, "give the gentleman his book. He wishes to learn and sing one of the hymns before he goes to bed to-night." At the sale of another copy of this honored book, he once broke out with the parody:

Blest is the man who shuns the place
Where other auctions be,
And has his money in his fist
And buys his books of me!

The late Mr. Gowans was a constant attendant at the sales, where much of his immense book stock was purchased. He was an admirer of Keese, and even devoted to his memory. He would frequently call the auctioneer out by a question relating to the book in hand, and always received a pertinent witty reply. Keese was offering a book entitled a "History of the Tatars." "Is not that Tartars?" "No!" was the immediate answer, "Their wives were the Tartars."

An author's name suggestive of a pun or of a double meaning, was never lost upon him. A book of the Rev. Dr. Hawks would bring out the quiet elucidation—"a bird of pray." "Going—going—gentleman—ten cents for Caroline Fry—why, it isn't the price of a stew;" a jest which no genuine New York oyster eating audience ever failed to appreciate, any more than they would his interpretation of the letters F. R. S. appended to an author's name on a title page—"Fried, Roasted and Stewed." D.D. he would unceremoniously translate "Dead Dog."

His deprecatory remark on the sacrifice of a copy of Bacon's Essays for twelve and a half cents was pathetic. "Really, that is too much pork for a shilling!" Selling, one evening, a book on German politics by Goetz, he hesitated over the catalogue, as if at the delicacy of the author's name. "What is it?" asked one of the audience. "Oh! something, I suppose, on the internal difficulties of the country." In a similar vein was his introduction of Gutzslaff's China with the observation, "This was the gentleman with a commotion in his bowels."

Sometimes his wit would be more pointed. "This," said he, holding up a volume of verse of a well known type, "is a book, by a poor and pious girl, of poor and pious poems." There was a heavy remainder of a certain volume, the "Lives of the Shoemakers," which required all his ingenuity to dispose of. He would bring out a copy with the unfailing introduction, "This is the *last copy*. The book was *awl* the the author wrote and was *awl* that his widow inherited from him, her *sole* reliance"—a jest which may have been stimulated by Shakespeare's cobbler in Julius Cæsar. Of some heavy folio, dragging at a feeble price, he would end his efforts—"Going—going—cheap for a back-log!" Knocking down a "Hand-book," he added, for the comfort of the purchaser, "You will see that it is pretty well fingered." "Damaged, you say, yes—a little wet on the outside—but you will find it dry enough within." On another occasion he parried this word "damaged" quite happily. A young son of a highly respectable Episcopal clergyman of this city, was a privileged attendant at the auction room. Keese offered a soiled or injured copy of the "Book of Common Prayer." "Isn't it *damaged*," exclaimed the youth; upon which Keese turned round to him slowly, and fixing his attention upon him with great gravity, in a tone of soberness and solemnity, addressed him, "Has your father taught you to regard *that* as a damaged book?"

His applications of familiar quotations from the poets were occasionally very felicitous. Looking in at the large auction room on Broadway, late in the season, we found Keese in a corner of the apartment presiding over a miscellaneous lot of kitchen furniture, which had invaded the more legitimate business of the place. A few second-rate boarding house keepers were bent on securing the pots and kettles at the greatest sacrifice. Keese was voluble and witty as ever. Dwelling with a final appeal over a coveted saucepan, which held the gaze of a hesitating bidder, "going—going—'the woman who deliberates is lost'—gone!" A visitor once interrupted one of his book sales by strumming on a piano, sent for sale among some articles of furniture. "Tom," says he to his man, "tell that gentleman to stop—the piano is not his forte."

On opening the sales room at 159 Broadway, at the beginning, we believe, of his career as an auctioneer, with the new firm of Cooley, Keese & Hill, an entertainment was given to the trade, at which his jests were as inexhaustible as the supply of champagne. "If you have any dealings with us, my friends, it will be pleasant, for we shall take things cooley (Cooley); if you should have any doubt as to the security of property left with us, remember that it is under most excellent keys

(Keese); and as for our stability you may rely upon one of the granite Hills of New Hampshire.' It was toward the close of this entertainment, amidst the compliments and good cheer, that he slipped in an artful reminder of business. "Gentlemen, we are scattering our bread upon the waters, and expect to find it after many days—battered!"

Keese, as we have just seen, had, as well as his partners, a name provocative of a pun, a capability in which he did not spare himself more than he did others. His partner, Cooley, was large in person and of a fine presence; Keese was short, meagre and nervous, a "thin, weasenfaced, black-eyed chap," as his friend Clarke described him in the *Knickerbocker*, for all which, however, he made amends and nobly held his own by his abounding vitality. Selling a print by Landseer, "Dignity and Impudence," one of the artist's contrasts of the great and small in doghood, our auctioneer was called upon for the name of the engraving. "Oh," said he, "I don't know, unless it is Cooley and Keese." So he spoke of the children of his family as "a bunch of Keys."

His wit, of course, was not confined to the auction room. One of his best remembered jests is his toast given at a gathering of mill owners and manufacturers at Saugerties, on the Hudson. "The village of Saugerties: may its furnaces be blasted and its streams be *dammed*." The late Lewis Gaylord Clarke, by the side of this anecdote, in his "Editor's Table" in the *Knickerbocker*, relates another, occurring at the comedian Burton's hospitable home, at a "Mulberry Feast" in honor of Shakespeare. At this festivity the late Mr. Balmano, the kindly devotee to the great dramatist and the whole genial world of literature and art, unwrapped from many foldings of tissue-paper a piece of bark, taken by himself, as he asserted, from Herne's oak in Windsor forest. "You took this from the trunk of the old oak itself, did you, Mr. Balmano?" asked Keese. "I did," was the response. "Ah!" was the reply of his questioner, eyeing the relic with affectionate admiration, but thoughtfully, after a slight pause, "isn't it barely possible, Mr. Balmano, that you may have been *barking up the wrong tree*?"

Poor Keese! he was witty to the last, in sorrow and disappointment. He became consumptive, his ringing voice could no more be heard in the sales room; but he found a congenial refuge in the New York Custom House, where he held the post of appraiser of books. Chief Justice Daly, from whom we have the anecdote, meeting him in this scene one day, not long before his death, inquired respecting his health. Keese replied in feeble tones, "failing, failing—in a place where every thing is *invoiced* except myself."

Had not Keese been closely attached to the book business from his youth—he was brought up with the Collinses and long associated with that publishing house—he would probably have been an author. As it was he might fairly have claimed the title of a man of letters. He was an editor of various publications; one of these, a book of selections of poetry, which we have not seen, was entitled “The Mourner’s Chaplet,” a volume of consolation prepared, we have heard it stated, after the loss of a son. A memoir of Lucy Hooper, his friend, the gentle poetess of Brooklyn, was prefixed by him to a collection of her poems. He also edited a volume of poems by Mrs. E. Oakes Smith, and one or two annuals, “The Wintergreen, a Perennial Gift,” in 1844, and “The Opal, a Pure Gift for the Holidays,” in 1847, the last illustrated by the artist Chapman, with whom he was particularly associated in the preparation of a pair of beautiful volumes published by Colman in 1840 and 1842, entitled “Poets of America, illustrated by one of her Painters.” The selection of poems, an excellent one, was made by Keese, and the books bore his name as editor. We find him also in 1846 superintending the literary department of a series of views in 4to, entitled “North American Scenery, from drawings by Whitefield.”

On one occasion, at least, Keese appeared in public as a lecturer, in a course delivered at the Broadway Tabernacle, in 1852, taking for his theme a rather comprehensive subject, “The Influence of Knowledge.” In a newspaper report of this lecture we find him citing a fine passage from our well remembered Mayor, Philip Hone, whom he justly characterized as “in every particular, a merchant prince, a finished gentleman, and *the best of auctioneers*.” Keese, who was of an esteemed old New York family—on the mother’s side he was descended from the famous divine and author of an early day in the city, William Linn—had much local feeling. A poem which he recited before a certain “Columbian Literary Club” of this city, at Hope Chapel, the year following the lecture, gives abundant evidence of this in its summary of the celebrities of the day. Though a quarter of a century has not yet elapsed since its delivery, there are but few living of the town worthies he described. We may cite it freely as a contribution to our past city history. Here is a passage of the unstudied rhymes, beginning with a tribute to his friend Burton and his unfailing popularity:—

“The drama flourishes, and one thing’s certain,
Wealth, taste and beauty throng to laugh at Burton.
There they behold great Shakespeare’s fines’ scholar,
A poet and a wit, for half a dollar—

There Shakespeare, Sheridan and Colman meet,
 And you must early go to get a seat.
 Bare son of Momus, may your shadow ne'er be less,
 And we not die from laughing to excess!
 The Broadway caters, too, for taste refined;
 There Shakespeare's genius speeds the march of mind;
 Here our own Forrest treads the mimic scene,
 And graceful beauty shines in Julia Dean,
 Here Macbeth, Hamlet, William Tell and Lear
 Excite our pity, wonder, love and fears;
 While Constance, Julia, and Bianca's grace
 Live in the genius of that radiant face.
 Wallack's Lyceum visit, there you find
 Vaudeville, farce and comedy combined;
 The manager, a favorite of thirty years,
 Stands, as an actor, first among his peers;
 Here's Rufus Blake, here Lester's genius soars,
 And Laura Keene elicits loud applause.

* * * * *
 The Broadway Railroad fills the lawyer's pocket
 And in one court is always on the docket.
 The "Bearded Lady," with her whiskers dark,
 Is seen each day at Barnum's, near the Park.
 Barnum exhibits, with his usual taste,
 His only humbug, that is not barefaced.

* * * * *
 A murmur through our city goes, and hark!
 All ranks cry out we'll have a Central Park.

Such were some of the musings and solaces of New Yorkers of 1853. Alas! poor Yorick. The laughter is long since wiped from the faces of the Burtonean guests. Forrest's grandeur no more shakes the roof of the Broadway, itself vanished and the old Lyceum with the elder Wallack, and Rufus Blake. The "Bearded Lady" where is she—shaven and shorn perhaps in private life; Barnum survives—his face was seen the other day, a man in his prime on a new placard; Lester maintains the glory of the Wallacks; the Broadway Railroad has been succeeded, to the equal satisfaction of the lawyers, by others as litigious; and best of all, the Central Park is happily more than the dream realized.

EVERT A. DUYCKINCK

DIARY
OF GOVERNOR SAMUEL WARD

DELEGATE FROM RHODE ISLAND
IN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, 1774-1776

Part II

SECOND CONGRESS.—FIRST SESSION.—

"May 10, 1775. Set out for Philadelphia. Lodged at Champlin's, in Lyme.—May 11th. Lodged at Beers' (New Haven).—May 12th. Dined at Fairfield, lodged at Knapp's H——.—May 13th. Dined at Kingsbridge. To New York. Over the ferry to Josiah Peirson's, in Newark.—May 14th. Woodbridge, Princeton, Trenton.—May 15th. Bristol, Philadelphia.

May 11, 1775. The Congress opened with prayers by Mr. Duché. Credentials of the gentlemen present opened, etc. Thanks to Mr. Duché by Mr. Bland, Mr. Willing and Mr. Sullivan. Doors to be shut and the members under the ties of secrecy until etc. Circular letter, 5th February last, from the Agents Franklin, Lee and Bollan to the Assemblies read. A letter from the Provincial Congress of Watertown, inclosing an account of the late action at Concord, etc. Congress to be resolved into a Committee of the Whole on Monday, to take into consideration the state of America. Letter from the provincial Congress referred to that Committee. Adjourned to the next day.—12th. Met and adjourned.—13th. Met. Dr. Lyman Hall, for the parish of St. John's in Georgia, admitted for that parish under such regulations as the Congress should direct. Adjourned to Monday.—15th. A number of members arrived. The Secretary allowed to employ Timothy Matlack as clerk under

an oath of secrecy; a petition from the Murrays; ordered that the Congress be resolved into a Committee to-morrow as above; New York asked advice relative to the troops; the Delegate from St. John's did not insist on a voice, save when the Colonies were not called.

Arrived myself at this time. Advice given to New York. Memorials from Shoemaker and Drinker relative to vessels etc. A Committee appointed to consider what ports in the province of New York ought to be guarded. Colonel Washington etc. the Committee. Then adjourned.—16th. Met. The letter from the Murrays read and ordered to lie on the table. Resolved into a Committee of the Whole to take into consideration the state of America; Mr. Tilghman in the Chair; reported that no resolutions were come into, and desired leave, etc.—17th. Met. Shoemaker and Drinker's petition read. All exportations to Quebec, Nova Scotia, Island of St. John's, Newfoundland, Georgia (except the parish of St. John's), and the two Floridas, and for the British fisheries on the American coasts, to cease, and ordered to be immediately published.—18th. Met. Mr. Hopkins joined us. Rules of the last Congress adopted. News of taking Ticonderoga. Mr. Brown gave much intelligence relative to Canada, etc. Resolution that the stores be removed from Ticonderoga, etc., to the south end of Lake George, etc.; a post to be taken there; an account of the cannon to be taken, etc.—19th. Met. Report of the Committee for New York made and referred to the Committee of the Whole, which went into the consideration of the state of America. After some time Mr.

Ward reported that no resolutions were come into, and desired leave to sit again.—20th. Met, and resolved into a Committee. Mr. Ward reported as above.—22d. Met, and resolved as above, and Mr. Ward reported as above.—23d. Met, and resolved into, etc. Mr. Ward reported as above.—24th. Met. Mr. Randolph going to the Assembly, Mr. Middleton was chosen (President); declined on account of his ill state of health, and Mr. Hancock was chosen. Then resolved into a Committee, and Mr. Ward reported as above.—25th. Met, resolved into, etc. Mr. Ward reported the resolutions relative to New York, desired leave to sit again on the other business. Resolved, a post at Kingsbridge, the Highlands, etc., in New York be taken, and the militia kept in readiness, etc.—26th. The Delegates from New Jersey laid before the Congress the resolutions of that Assembly relative to the resolution of the Commons, which was referred to the Committee of the Whole; an addition to the first resolves concerning New York, relative to the uncertainty of the success of conciliatory measures; then resolved into a Committee of the Whole. Mr. Ward reported some resolutions, and desired leave to sit again. The report being read, several resolutions relative to the dangerous situation of the Colonies and the necessity of putting them into a state of defence, etc., were come into.—27th. Account of the state of Canada given us; a Committee, appointed for ways and means of getting powder. Power of forgiveness given to each Provincial Congress.—29th. Approved the letter to Canada. No provisions, etc.

to go to Nantucket unless from the Massachusetts. A Committee appointed to consider of a speedy and safe conveyance of letters, etc., throughout the Continent.—30th. Met. Mr. Willing presented the purport of a conversation between Lord North and a gentleman now in this city, reduced to writing by Mr. Cooper, under-Secretary to the Treasury. Resolved into a Committee of the Whole. Mr. Ward reported as before.—31st. Met. Resolved into a Committee. Mr. Ward reported as before. A letter from Colonel Arnold (23d), containing intelligence of four hundred regulars at St. John's (Canada), preparing to cross the lake (Champlain); upon which the Governor of Connecticut was desired to send a strong reinforcement, and New York to supply them with provisions.

June 1st. A report made from the Committee for supplies of powder. Commissaries to be appointed by the Governor of Connecticut to receive the provisions at Albany, and the Convention of New York to give all necessary assistance in transporting them to the places where wanted. Invasions or incursions into Canada forbid.—2d. Dr. Church arrived with a letter of instructions from the Provincial Congress (of Massachusetts) asking advice of the Congress. Resolutions forbidding bills of exchange to be negotiated. No provisions to be supplied the Army and Navy in Massachusetts, or the transports.—3d. A Committee appointed to consider of the state of the Massachusetts, a Committee to borrow six thousand pounds sterling, Committees for a petition to the King, (an) Address to the people of England, ditto to Ireland, (and a)

Letter to Jamaica. A Committee for considering (the) money necessary (to be raised).—5th. Met and adjourned.—6th. Met and adjourned.—7th. Reports of several Committees. A fast recommended (for the) 20th July. Resolved into a Committee (of the Whole), and report made as above.—8th. A Committee appointed (to) examine the papers of Major Skeene. Resolved into a Committee (of the Whole), and reported as above.—9th. Report of the Committee relative to the Massachusetts Bay read and approved. The Provincial Congress to write to the towns to choose Representatives, they to choose Councillors; which Assembly and Councillors (are) to execute the powers of Government until, etc.—10th. Recommended to the New England Colonies to supply the Army before Boston with powder immediately; the Committees in the Colonies to purchase all the saltpetre and sulphur, and have them made into powder. Dismissed Major Skeene upon his parole not to cross the rivers of Schuylkill and Delaware, or go more than eight miles from the city.—12th. The order for a Fast engrossed and approved. The letter to Canada ordered to lie (on the table). Through hurry went no farther with my memorandum.

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL OF THE CONGRESS.—Wednesday, June 14, 1775. Met according to adjournment. Agreeable to the standing order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into consideration the state of America; and after some time spent thereon, the President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Ward reported that the Committee had come

to certain resolutions, which he was ordered to report; but not having come to a conclusion, they desired him to move for leave to sit again. The resolutions being read, they were agreed to.

Thursday, June 15, 1775. Met according to adjournment. * * * * Agreeable to Order, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, and after some time the President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Ward reported that the Committee had come to some farther Resolutions, which he was ordered to report. The Report of the Committee being read and considered, Resolved, That a General be appointed to command all the Continental Forces, raised or to be raised for the defence of American Liberty. That five hundred dollars per month be allowed for the pay and expenses of the General. The Congress then proceeded to the choice of a General by ballot, and George Washington, Esq., was unanimously elected.

Tuesday, June 23, 1775. * * * * Agreeable to Order, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into further consideration the state of America, and after some time spent therein, the President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Ward reported certain Resolutions come into by them (on the Continental Currency), and that not having yet finished, they desired leave to sit again. The Report of the Committee being read, was agreed to.

Monday, July 3, 1775. Met according to adjournment. * * * Agreeable to the Order of the Day, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to consider the trade of these Colonies, and after some time the Presi-

dent resumed the Chair, and Mr. Ward reported a Resolution they had come to. The Resolution of the Committee being read, was, at the desire of the Colony of South Carolina, referred for further consideration till to-morrow.

Friday, July 21, 1775. Agreeable to Order, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into consideration the state of America, and after some time spent therein, the President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Ward reported that they had come to certain Resolutions, which he read, and then desired leave to sit again.

Tuesday, August 1, 1775. * * *
Adjourned to Tuesday, the 5th of September next.

NOTE.—GOVERNOR WARD'S OPINION OF JEFFERSON.—On the 22d of June Governor Ward wrote from Philadelphia to his brother Henry Ward, Secretary of Rhode Island, as follows: "Yesterday the famous Mr. Jefferson, a Delegate from Virginia, in the room of Mr. Randolph, arrived. I have not been in company with him yet. He looks like a very sensible, spirited, fine Fellow, and by the pamphlet which he wrote last summer he certainly is one."

THE DAUPHIN'S BIRTHDAY

From the Portfolio, Volume IV, 1817

Account of a French Fête in Philadelphia in honour of The Dauphin's Birthday. In a letter from Dr Rush to a Lady.

PHILADELPHIA, 16 July, 1782.

Dear Madam: For some weeks past our city has been amused with the expectation of a most splendid entertainment to be given by the minister of France, to celebrate the birthday of the Dauphin of France. Great preparations, it was said, were made for

that purpose. Hundreds crowded daily to see a large frame building which he had erected for a dancing room on one side of his house.* This building, which was sixty feet in front and forty feet deep, was supported by large painted pillars, and was open all round. The ceiling was decorated with several pieces of neat paintings emblematical of the design of the entertainment. The garden contiguous to this shade was cut into beautiful walks, and divided with cedar and pine branches into artificial groves. The whole, both the building and walks, were accommodated with seats. Besides these preparations, we were told that the minister had borrowed thirty cooks from the French army, to assist in providing an entertainment suited to the size and dignity of the company. Eleven hundred tickets were distributed, most of them two or three weeks before the evening of the entertainment.

Forty were sent to the governor of each state, to be distributed by them to the principal officers and gentlemen of their respective governments, and, I believe, the same number to General Washington, to be distributed to the principal officers of the army. For ten days before the entertainment nothing else was talked of in our city. The shops were crowded with customers. Hair dressers were retained; tailors, milliners and mantua-makers were to be seen, covered with sweat and out of breath, in every street. Monday, July 15th, was the long expected evening.

The morning of this day was ushered in by a corps of hair-dressers, occupying the place of the city watchmen. Many

ladies were obliged to have their heads dressed between four and six o'clock in the morning, so great was the demand and so numerous were the engagements this day of the gentlemen of the comb. At half past seven o'clock was the time fixed in the tickets for the meeting of the company. The approach of the hour was proclaimed by the rattling of all the carriages in the city. The doors and windows of the streets which lead to the minister's were lined with people, and near the minister's house was a collection of all the curious and idle men, women and children in the city, who were not invited to the entertainment, amounting, probably, to ten thousand people. The minister was not unmindful of this crowd of spectators. He had previously pulled down a board fence and put up a neat pallisado fence before the dancing room and walks, on purpose to gratify them with a sight of the company and entertainment. He intended further to have distributed two pipes of Madeira wine and \$600 in small change among them; but he was dissuaded from this act of generosity by some gentlemen of the city, who were afraid that it might prove the occasion of a riot or some troublesome proceedings. The money devoted to this purpose was charitably distributed among the prisoners in the jails, and patients in the hospital in the city. About eight o'clock our family, consisting of Mrs. Rush, our cousin Susan Hall, our sister Sukey and myself, with our good neighbors Mrs. and Mr. Henry, entered the apartment provided for this splendid entertainment. We were received through a wide gate by the minister and conducted by one of his

family to the dancing room. The scene now almost exceeds description. The numerous lights distributed through the garden, the splendour of the room we were approaching, the size of the company which was now collected and which consisted of about 700 persons; the brilliancy and variety of their dresses, and the band of music which had just began to play, formed a scene which resembled enchantment. Sukey Stockton said "her mind was carried beyond and out of itself." We entered the room together, and here we saw the world in miniature. All the ranks, parties, and professions in the city, and all the officers of government were fully represented in this assembly. Here were ladies and gentlemen of the most ancient as well as modern families. Here were lawyers, doctors and ministers of the gospel. Here were the learned faculty of the college, and among them many who knew not whether Cicero plead in Latin or in Greek; or whether Horace was a Roman or a Scotchman. Here were painters and musicians, poets and philosophers, and men who were never moved by beauty or harmony, or by rhyme or reason. Here were merchants and gentlemen of independent fortunes, as well as many respectable and opulent tradesmen. Here were whigs and men who formerly bore the character of tories. Here were the president and members of congress, governors of states and generals of armies, ministers of finance and war and foreign affairs; judges of superior and inferior courts, with all their respective suites and assistants, secretaries and clerks. In a word, the assembly was truly republican. The company

was mixed, it is true, but the mixture formed the harmony of the evening. Everybody seemed pleased. Pride and ill-nature for a while forgot their pretensions and offices, and the whole assembly behaved to each other as if they had been members of the same family. It was impossible to partake of the joy of the evening without being struck with the occasion of it. It was to celebrate the birth of the Dauphin of France.

How great the revolution in the mind of an American! to rejoice in the birth of an heir to the crown of France, a country against which he had imbibed prejudices as ancient as the wars between France and England. How strange! for a protestant to rejoice in the birth of a prince, whose religion he has been always taught to consider as unfriendly to humanity. And above all how new the phenomenon for republicans to rejoice in the birth of a prince, who must one day be the support of monarchy and slavery. Human nature in this instance seems to be turned inside outwards. The picture is still agreeable, inasmuch as it shows us in the clearest point of view that there are no prejudices so strong, no opinions so sacred, and no contradictions so palpable, that will not yield to the love of liberty.

The appearance and characters, as well as the employment of the company naturally suggested the idea of Elysium given by the ancient poets. Here were to be seen heroes and patriots in close conversation with each other. Washington and Dickinson held several dialogues together. Here were to be seen men conversing with each other who had appeared in all the different stages of the

American war. Dickinson and Morris frequently reclined together against the same pillar. Here were to be seen statesmen and warriors, from the opposite ends of the continent, talking of the history of the war in their respective states. Rutledge and Walton from the south, here conversed with Lincoln and Duane from the east and north. Here and there, too, appeared a solitary character walking among the artificial bowers in the garden. The celebrated author of "Common Sense" retired frequently from the company to analyze his thoughts and to enjoy the repast of his own original ideas. Here were to be seen men who had opposed each other in the councils and parties of their country, forgetting all former resentments and exchanging civilities with each other. Mifflin and Reed accosted each other with all the kindness of ancient friends. Here were to be seen men of various countries and languages, such as Americans and Frenchmen, Englishmen and Scotchmen, Germans and Irishmen, conversing with each other like children of one father. And lastly, here were to be seen the extremes of the civilized and savage life. An Indian chief, in his savage habits, and the count Rochambeau in his splendid and expensive uniform, talked with each other as if they had been the subjects of the same government, generals in the same army, and partakers of the same blessings of civilized life.

About half an hour after eight o'clock the signal was given for the dance to begin. Each lady was provided with a partner before she came. The heat of the evening deterred above one half of

the company from dancing. Two sets, however, appeared upon the floor during the remaining part of the evening.

On one side of the room were provided two private apartments, where a number of servants attended to help the company to all kinds of cool and agreeable drinks, with sweet cakes, fruits and the like.

Between these apartments, and under the orchestra, there was a private room where several quaker ladies, whose dress would not permit them to join the assembly, were indulged with a sight of the company through a gauze curtain.

This little attention to the curiosity of the ladies marks in the strongest manner the minister's desire to oblige everybody.

At nine o'clock were exhibited a number of rockets from a stage erected in a large open lot before the minister's house. They were uncommonly beautiful, and gave universal satisfaction. At twelve o'clock the company was called to supper. It was laid behind the dancing room under three large tents, so connected together as to make one large canopy. Under this canopy was placed seven tables, each of which was large enough to accommodate fifty people.

The ladies, who composed near one half the whole assembly, took their seats first, with a small number of gentlemen to assist in helping them. The supper was a cold collation; simple, frugal and elegant, and handsomely set off with a dessert consisting of cakes and all the fruits of the season. The Chevalier de la Luzerne now appeared with all the splendour of the minister and all the politeness of a gentleman. He walked along the tables and addressed himself

in particular to every lady. A decent and respectful silence pervaded the whole company. Intemperance did not show its head; levity composed its countenance, and even humour itself forgot for a few moments its usual haunts; and the simple jests, no less than the loud laugh, were unheard at any of the tables. So great and universal was the decorum, and so totally suspended was every species of convivial noise, that several gentlemen remarked that the "company looked and behaved more as if they were *worshipping* than *eating*." In a word, good breeding was acknowledged, by universal consent, to be mistress of the evening, and the conduct of the votaries at supper formed the conclusion of her triumph. Notwithstanding all the agreeable circumstances that have been mentioned, many of the company complained of the want of something else to render the entertainment complete. Everybody felt pleasure, but it was of too tranquil a nature. Many people felt sentiments, but they were produced by themselves, and did not arise from any of the amusements of the evening. The company expected to feel joy, and their feelings were in unison with nothing short of it. An ode on the birth of the Dauphin, sung or repeated, would have answered the expectations and corresponded with the feelings of everybody. The understanding and the taste of the company would have shared with the senses in the pleasures of the evening. The enclosed ode, written by Mr. Wm. Smith, son of the Rev. Dr. Smith, was composed for the occasion, but from what cause I know not, it did not make its appearance. It has great merit, and could

it have been set to music, or spoken publicly, must have formed a most delightful and rational part of the entertainment. About one o'clock the company began to disperse, our family moved with the foremost of them. Before three o'clock the whole company parted, every candle was extinguished, and midnight enjoyed her dark and solitary reign in every part of the minister's house and garden. Thus I have given you a full account of the rejoicing on the birth of the Dauphin of France.

If it serves to divert your thoughts for an hour or two from the train of reflections to which the shades and walks of ———, at this season of the year, too naturally dispose you, I shall be more than satisfied and shall esteem the history which my attendance at the minister's house has enabled me to give you, as the most fortunate and agreeable event (as to myself) of the whole evening.

*The house was occupied in 1817 by the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania.

NOTES

CRISTOBAL COLON.—The tomb of Columbus, as is well known, is in Havana; until 1822 there was no alteration in the humble stone which marked the spot in the cathedral. The flat stone with its Latin inscription was replaced later by a simple monument in white marble, with the effigy of the great discoverer in relief, and an inscription which did not last *a thousand centuries*, according to the wish of its author, but only *two years*. The illustrious Bishop Espada, an enthusiast in the cause of liberty, wishing

to pay in part the debt due to Columbus, proposed to erect to him a suitable monument, substituting for the bars with which it was designed to surround it, *the Constitution of the Spanish monarchy*. I remember that a magnificent model, decorated with green velvet and ornamented with silver, was set up; the liberal government fell in Spain in 1824, and the *sacred code* was removed in accordance with immemorial usage. Now the inscription reads:

*Oh! remains and image of the great Columbus
Rest a thousand centuries in this urn
And in the memory of our nation.*

Thus all travellers who have visited Havana have copied it; but they do not know that before 1824 the third line read:

With the sacred code of our nation

Could not the reactionary despotism have left in peace the tomb of the great Admiral?

There exists in Cuba another souvenir of Columbus which is little known. The Duke of Veraguas, Marquis of Jamaica, presented to Havana a portrait of his illustrious ancestor. It is preserved in the Consistorial Hall of the Corporation in a conspicuous place. It is a picture on panel in which he appears dressed as a *Familiar of the Holy Inquisition*, with a green hat, the color used by the Familiars, alguazils and attendants in the service of this horrible tribunal.

The bust in the Hall of the New York Historical Society bears no resemblance to him. This is another of the numerous and entirely dissimilar effigies which preserve the memory but not the features of the Genoese. Up to the present time

the special labors of Cardedun concede authenticity to that which is attributed to Rincon, and Senor Banchero, in his recent splendid edition of the "Codice Colombo Americano" has replaced the portrait by Peschiera with that of Rincon.

A. BACHILLER.

NEWS FROM NEWFOUNDLAND.—*London, January 18, 1696.* Some persons arriving from Newfoundland gave an Account, upon Oaths, of the several Barbarities and Horrid Cruelties Exercised by the French on the English there: They Flea'd one Man's Head alive, to terrifie others, to make them Swear Allegiance to the French King, and kept no their Articles with the English, but have detained several of the strongest persons as their Slaves, and use them worse than the Turks, resolving to Extirpate the English, and Ruine that Advantageous Trade we had there. But this is no new thing with that Nation, for in times of Peace, between the Years 1680 and 1688, in Hudsons-Bay, they seized the English Forts, burnt their Houses, took their Ships and Goods, Imprisoned our Men, put many to Sea in a rotten Vessel, where several perished, forc'd some to Renounce their Religion, and others who stood it out were forc'd to Eat the Leather of their Shooes; and at several times in Peace Murdered above a hundred of the English. *The Flying Post; or, the Post-Master, January 26, 1696.*

Bristol, October 19, 1696. Yesterday a Ship arriv'd from Newfoundland in 18 days, and says, That a French Squadron had attacked the Southern Ports there, and burnt, as he thinks, about 40 Ships, most of them of Biddiford and Barnstaple;

That in one of the Ports they attack'd the Saphire Frigat, which fought against four of them a long time, but being forc'd to strike, the Men escap'd in their Boats, and blew up 200 of the French Men who Boarded her, by a Match and a Train. That 4 of their Ships design'd to attack another Frigat, but were prevented by Chains put a-cross the Port; whereupon they Landed some Men, and Plundered the Coasts. He adds, That most of the Merchant-Ships have, however, escap'd them; and that the Diamond Frigat which was taken from us was their Commodore; but we hope for a more favourable Account. *The Flying Post; or, the Post-Master, October 22, 1696.*

Falmouth, October 19, 1696. Yesterday arrived here in 16 days from Petterin in Newfoundland, the Benjamin of Rochel, a Banker of 150 Tuns, with 170 Planters, Seaman, &c. on board. But on the 17th Instant, about 10 Leagues to the Westward of Scilly, she met with 7 Men of War, who took about 100 of the Seamen from on board her. The Passengers say, That on the 11th September 5 French Privateers came to the Bay of Bulls, viz., the Diamond, Nesmond, Harcourt, Philip, and Pelican, carrying between 40 and 50 Guns each, with two Fire ships, and two small Frigats. That they attack'd his Majesty's ship the Saphire, which made a stout resistance for some time; but being overpowered, the Captain burnt the Ship, and carried off his Men; but that the French having landed some Men, they carri'd off 9 ships. That from thence they sailed to several other Ports, as Petty-Harbour, Witless-Harbour, &c. and on the 20th came to Petterin, of which they became Masters on the 21st.

That they carried off from thence 16 Ships, and having landed about 50 or 60 Men, they burnt the Houses of Petterin, Bay of Bulls, &c. and it's computed that they have taken about 33 Ships. That upon the News of their approach to other Ports, the Merchant Ships made off, leaving their Guns and half of their Cargoes behind. That the French came out before St. Jones's under Spanish Colours, where lay his Majesty's Ship the Soldadoes Prize, where upon the Captain went out in his Pinace to meet them, and they took him Prisoner, but the Inhabitants secured the Ship. They add, That the French sent the Captains to France, but gave the Benjamin and two other Ships to transport the Men to England. That there are about 20 Masters of Ships come over: That the French allowed them but a very small quantity of Bread; and for the most part they lived upon Fish and Flower. That several of the Passengers are sick, but that none of them died in the Passage save one. They also say, that St. Jones's is defended by several good Forts; that there are above 2000 Men in Arms for defence of the Country; and that the Wind not serving to enter St. Jones's the French sailed back towards the Bay of Bulls. *The Flying Post: or, the Post-Master, October 24, 1696.* W. K.

ANECDOTE OF THE REVOLUTION.—*Fishkill, January 25.* The publick may rely on the authenticity of the following anecdote:

In the late excursion, which General Parsons made to Morrisania, Major Oliver Lawrence, being detached with a reconnoitering party under the command

of Col. Gray, accidentally met with Col. James De Lancey, who taking the Major for one of his officers, abruptly accosted him with "D—n you, what are you doing there —don't you see the rebels just on your back?" Major Lawrence, in order to decoy him, replied, "My dear Colonel—pray give me your assistance, —my men are in the greatest confusion, and I cannot rally them." Upon which De Lancey innocently rode up, till he came within a few rods of the Major; when unfortunately one of the Major's party, having G. W. on his cap, rising from behind a stone fence, where they were secreted, discovered to the Colonel his mistake. Upon which he immediately wheeled about, put spurs to his horse, and preferring the danger of a broken neck to the fire of his enemy, leapt down a craggy precipice; exclaiming when he first perceived his error: "D—n you, Oliver Lawrence—I know you."—*Massachusetts Spy, February 8th, 1777.* PETERSFIELD.

THE FIRST PRINTER IN MISSISSIPPI.—Died at Washington, Adams Co., Miss., on the 10th of August, 1838, Col. Andrew Marschalk, a veteran of the Revolution, and the father of the press in Mississippi. He printed a ballad at the Walnut Hills in 1797 or 1798, with a small mahogany press which he had brought from London in 1790. The type used was a font of 30 lbs. This was the first printing executed in that district which now teems with newspapers, and is known by the name of Mississippi. Col. M. was the oldest member of the Society of Odd Fellows in the United States, having joined that over

which the Prince of Wales, since George IV., presided in London, more than 50 years ago.—*N. Y. Express*, August 30, 1838.

W. K.

QUERIES

BURR'S SEAL.—There is in the possession of Mr. Henry A. Burr of New York City a seal ring—a cornelian, heavily mounted, said to have been cut at Paris by order of Talleyrand, and by him sent to Aaron Burr. It bears a sharply cut bust in relief, taken in profile. The hair is in cue; behind the head is the device of a comet or star with a trail. What is the significance of this device?

J. A. S.

WOOSTERSHIRE, N. Y.—As early as the year 1739, a portion of the oblong, lying in the lower part of Dutchess (now Putnam) county, was called Woostershire or Worstershire. Can this locality be identified with any of the present towns of that county?

C. W. B.

GEN. HUNTER'S IROQUOIS.—General Hunter, Governor of New York and New Jersey, wrote a letter to a friend, dated March, 1713, which contained the following passage, said to be in the Iroquois language: "*Quonorgh quanion diadadega generoghqua aguegon tchitchendgareé.*"

Will some of our Indian scholars please give a translation?

W. K.

BLUE ROCK AND CRESAP CASTLE.—Where was the "Blue Rock" of the lower Susquehanna? Where was the "Castle" of Colonel Thomas Cresap? Are there any vestiges of the Castle or of the Blue Rock yet remaining?

J. B. B.

DESCRIPTION OF MAINE.—"A Description of the Situation, Climate, Soil, and Productions of Certain Tracts of Land in the District of Maine and Commonwealth of Massachusetts." This is the title of a 4to tract of 44 pages, which I have seen only in the Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I., printed probably in 1793. Who was its author? B.

DUTCH NAMES.—Most of us are so ignorant of Dutch that we learn with as much surprise as pleasure the significance of familiar proper names, as that Batavia means "good meadow;" Zutphen, "south fen;" Zuider Zee, "south sea;" Ostend, "east end," etc. Who will give us the meaning of Vanderbilt, Brevoort, Hudson and Rembrandt?

An explanation of the Dutch local names in the State of New York would be an important contribution to philology, and to history as well.

J. D. B.

CORR-FISH.—The word Cor-fish (I. 448) occurs in Capt. John Smith's, and all the early books. What was the origin of the word, of what language, and what its specific meaning?

Con.

REPLIES

PEMMICAN.—(I. 389.) This word has no affinity with *Pembina*, though it comes from the same language. *Pimikkân*, which means "made of fat," is the Cree name of an article of food much used by fur traders, trappers and explorers, as well as by northern Indians. It is made by mixing melted fat with dried meat, pounded fine, and pressing the mixture into bags of skin. Long, the Indian interpreter, calls it "hard grease

—the food all traders carry to the upper country" (*Travels*, p. 43). Mackenzie, (*Voyages*, CXXI) tells how to prepare it. See also Bartlett's *Dict. of Americanisms*, under the word "Pemitigon"—more accurately *pimitikan* or *binidigan*—the Chippeway name of "pemmican." (Chip. *pimité* or *binidé*—Cree *pimi* "fat" or "grease.")

J. H. T.

YANKEE DOODLE.—(I. 390.) Gordon, in his *History of the American Revolution*, Vol. I, page 481, states that when news of the affair at Lexington (April 19, 1775) reached Lord Percy, in Boston, he ordered out a reinforcement to support his troops. "The brigade marched out, playing, by way of contempt, *Yankee Doodle*, a song composed in derision of the New Englanders, scornfully called Yankees."

CAMBRIDGE.

OUR NATIONAL FLAG.—(I. 196.) Trumbull, in his pictures in the Rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, 1777, and the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, 1781, shows a different arrangement of the stars in the union of the American standard from that given by your correspondent. They appear in this order:

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The same arrangement appears in Trumbull's smaller studies in the New Haven gallery. STANDARD-BEARER.

WILLIAM EUSTIS.—(I. 259, 394, 452.) When it became apparent that the city of Washington was the objective point of the British, preparations were made at the offices of the several departments for the security of their records. The work of packing the papers began, it is stated, in some of them, as early as the 18th of August. The removal of those of the Department of War was commenced Sunday, August 21st, and finished the next day; of the Navy, August 21st and 22d; of the State and Treasury, Monday, August 22d. The Clerk of the House of Representatives being indisposed, and his assistants in the field with the militia, the records of Congress suffered severely, and their library also was destroyed, although, with proper attention, there was ample time to remove it before the entry of the enemy on the 24th of August. Those of your readers who are curious about this matter are referred to the documents of the third session of the Thirteenth Congress, where reports from the different Secretaries are printed in full. Lossing, in his *Field Book of the War of 1812*, page 923, describes the removal of the books and papers of the Department of State.

I cannot, from the material at my command, state positively whether Col. Monroe assumed control of the Department of War as "Acting Secretary" on the 19th, 20th, 21st or 22d of December. A letter written from Washington, dated Dec. 23, mentions a communication sent by Col. Monroe to a Committee of the Senate on army affairs.

W. K.

(Publishers of Historical works wishing Notices, will address the Editor with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

THE INDIAN MISCELLANY; CONTAINING PAPERS ON THE HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, ARTS, LANGUAGES, RELIGIONS, TRADITIONS AND SUPERSTITIONS OF THE AMERICAN ABORIGINES; with Descriptions of their Domestic Life, Manners, Customs, Traits, Amusements and Exploits; Travels and Adventures in the Indian Country; Incidents of Border Warfare; Missionary Relations, &c. Edited by W. W. BEACH. 8vo, pp. 490. J. MUNSELL, Albany, 1877.

This admirable collection of numerous fugitive papers, concerning the aborigines of America, reprinted from various sources, is most appropriately dedicated to the memory of S. G. Drake, who devoted years to the preservation and discovery of information on this always curious subject, the study of which is now being pursued, not only with passionate interest, but under well devised rules.

The articles are mainly reprints, some revised, and some enlarged for the present volume. The best known contributors are Squier, Buckingham Smith, Shea, Morgan, all experts in the line of Indian investigation. Other articles by Bryant, Stone, Browne and Lossing give a popular character to the work.

It is enough to say that it is published in Munsell's usual style.

THE LIFE OF THE REV. GEORGE WHITEFIELD, B. A., OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE, OXFORD. REV. L. TYERMAN. Two volumes. 8vo. A. D. F. RANDOLPH & Co., New York, 1877.

The generation of native born Americans now passing off the stage, if they have not heard themselves the magic eloquence of this most remarkable of itinerant preachers, have had from the lips of their parents some accounts of his wonderful power over the hearts and consciences of his hearers, and many a tradition has come down of the throngs which flocked to listen to him, under the Harvard elms and at the race courses in the middle colonies.

Whitefield was born in Gloucester, England, in 1714. When eighteen years of age he went to Oxford, and was admitted as a servitor in Pembroke College, where his father had preceded him half a century before. Here he found himself in what Dr. Johnson termed "a nest of singing birds," and here he found the Oxford Methodists with John and Charles Wesley at their head. To John Wesley was due his "conversion" in 1735.

He was admitted into holy orders at Oxford on Sunday, the 25th June, 1736, and the succeeding Sabbath preached his first sermon at St. Mary de Crypt. Such was his power, though then but twenty-one years of age, that he was accused of have "driven fifteen persons mad." His voice, a chief charm of all oratory, was, it is said, "unusual both in melody and strength."

Now commenced that evangelic mission which he seems to have understood in its earlier Christian spirit, embracing all, excluding none, in its holy purpose. He seems to have given an impulse to religious feeling, which reached the heart of all denominations of the Christian Church.

In the thirty-five years of his ministry, Whitefield paid seven visits to America, which from his ordination almost he looked upon as the field of his labors. He arrived in Savannah on the 7th May, 1738, and preached his first sermon in America the next day. His last was preached at Exeter, New Hampshire, on the 29th September, 1770. After preaching for two hours in an impassioned strain, he started for Newburyport. He arrived in a state of exhaustion, and died the next day. His bones are now exhibited in a open coffin in the vault beneath the pulpit of the Newburyport church.

In one of his most memorable sermons, he said that the colonies of America would become "one of the most opulent and powerful empires in the world." Verily the mantle of the prophets had fallen on his shoulders.

There is much of historic interest in this biography, and in its broad treatment of religious subjects even Whitefield himself could find nothing to censure or to change.

THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGIC REGISTER for July, 1877. — 18 Somerset street, Boston.

This number contains an exceedingly good variety of historical and genealogical material. It is the only live publication of this kind in New England, and is always a welcome guest.

POTTER'S AMERICAN MONTHLY; AN ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE OF HISTORY, LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND ART, June, 1877. JOHN E. POTTER & Co., Philadelphia.

This well-known periodical has somewhat changed its scope, and abandoning the pure historic field, entertains in its pages articles of more general interest, and is illustrated in a manner to suit the popular taste. We have no doubt that our good friends have found their interest in this

change, and we hope it will find the support it deserves. The articles in this number are well selected and suited to family use.

HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF ORANGE, WITH A HISTORY OF THE TOWN AND CITY OF NEWBURGH; general, analytical and biographical, by E. M. RUTTENBER. 8vo. pp. 425. E. M. RUTTENBER & SON, Newburgh. 1875.

This volume, the first part of which appeared in 1875, has been recently completed, and is a valuable addition to our local history. It is accompanied with maps and numerous engravings on steel and wood. It combines careful and accurate histories of the county and town, the author wisely judging Newburgh, with its revolutionary reminiscences, to be entitled to a section for itself. Here it will never be forgotten the proclamation of Congress and the farewell orders of Washington were read, and the patriot army disbanded on the 3d November, 1783. The scene was painful. In the hour of final triumph the hardy veterans, many of whom for seven years had turned their weary thoughts only to this day, were startled, at the future before them, of penury, suffering, perhaps starvation, to which the chances of war were even preferable. There is a sketch of Washington's headquarters, which is now under charge of trustees, appointed by the State Legislature. Lafayette had his headquarters at Murderer's Creek, a few miles below, and the park of artillery was at New Windsor.

In the Colonial days Newburgh was a whaling port of some importance, although we do not find this fact mentioned.

A BOOK OF AMERICAN EXPLORERS, by THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON—Young Folks Series—12mo, pp. 367. LEE & SHEPARD, Boston, 1877.

These extracts, for they are nothing more, the author confining his labors to selection, are quite as interesting reading to the old folk as to the young. After the vast leap from the Norse legends of western migration, which anti-dates the Norman conquest of England, to the discoveries of the fifteenth century, the extracts present an almost continuous narrative of voyages from those of Columbus, Cabot and Verrazano to the safe arrival of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in Salem harbor, in 1629. The quaintness of the original is always preserved. There are numerous illustrations, the general idea of which appears to have been suggested by Bryant's popular history, to which we alluded to in our last number. We hope Col. Higginson will continue these selections, which combine instruction with the charm of romance.

CAMP COURT AND SEIGE. A NARRATIVE OF PERSONAL ADVENTURE AND OBSERVATION DURING TWO WARS—1861-1865-1870-1871; by WICKHAM HOFFMAN, Asst. Adj.-Gen. U. S. Vol. and Secretary U. S. Legation at Paris. Small 8vo, pp. 285. HARPER & BROTHERS, New York. 1877.

The announcement of an account of the personal experience of this amiable gentleman in the late civil war and at Paris during the most exciting period of the late Franco-German struggle, was naturally received by his numerous friends with satisfaction. We find it pleasant reading, of autobiographic character. It is a recital of events and information of events in which the author rarely ventures a deduction or an opinion. His experience of civil service has, no doubt, taught him that the first duty of a diplomat is discretion. Yet, it is but just to say, that while he believes in the continuance of a permanent officer in the Embassy, he approves of "new men" as ambassadors. We are more radical, and hold Embassies to be wholly unnecessary. When special occasions arise let special persons be sent to meet them.

Colonel Hoffman entertains little respect for Trochu's abilities. Trochu was a theorist. If France were to be saved it was not by a man who thought of saving "Society" first and France afterwards. No man who subordinates his patriotism to his principles is fit to command in serious exigencies. With the material at Trochu's command Paris and France could have easily been saved. Trochu's force was in proclamation—"Vox et præterea nihil."

The account of Paris during the Commune gives neither new information nor a correct appreciation of what really occurred. The Commune in its origin was a protest against a monarchical restoration, which but for that protestation would have taken place. Not only the sentiment of Paris, but that of the majority of France, was against the seizure of power by the Bordeaux Assembly. In the beginning the Commune had the support of the great body of the middle class. Later, as a definitive rupture became apparent, and the punishment of Paris was seen to be the programme of Versailles, the moderate men deserted their post, and left the government to the control of the lower class of adventurers. The bombardment and assault on the city were not only blunders, but crimes.

No one will defend the final atrocities of the Commune, but, on the other hand, it is not necessary to go behind the recent audacious attempt again to subjugate France by the reactionary Cabinet of McMahon for a justification of the first resistance. A strict, impartial history will record that it saved France from a restoration of the monarchy, and was the corner stone of

the Republic. As a resident of Paris during the whole of the Commune period, we speak from careful personal observation.

THE WIT AND WISDOM OF THE HAYTIANS. By JOHN BIGELOW. 8vo, large paper, pp. 112. SCRIBNER & ARMSTRONG, New York, 1877.

A charming little "volume de luxe," the purpose of which, as announced by the accomplished author, is to demonstrate the capacity of the African race for self-government from their mental activity and culture. Mr. Bigelow passed a winter in the island of Hayti in 1854, while it was yet under the sway of Faustin I. The book is a collection of proverbs, many of which are undoubtedly of purely African extraction, while in their form partaking of a certain Gallic flavor, which those acquainted with the older French usages and modes of thought will understand. It is one of the peculiarities of colonization that the Colons longer retain old habits, customs and expressions than even the mother race.

This book is not for the many, but the few, and is a curious testimony to the tendency to amalgamation of thought and speech in even the most opposite varieties of the human race. Language may not have been one before the tower of Babel was set up, but the indications towards a universal language are already numerous and increasing with marvellous rapidity.

THE WILDERNESS, OR BRADDOCK'S TIMES—A TALE OF THE WEST. Two volumes in one. 12mo, pp. 230. Pittsburg, 1848. Reprinted. V. R. WELDMAN & CO. Pittsburg, 1876.

This work, originally published in New York in 1823, was from the pen of Dr. James McHenry of Philadelphia, and is of value as an early romance, founded on American history. The original editions are extremely rare, and this reprint will be gladly received.

PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES—SECOND SERIES. Published under direction of MATTHEW S. QUAY, Secretary of the Commonwealth. Edited by JOHN B. LINN and WILLIAM H. EGGLE, D. D. Vol. II. 8vo, pp. 826. B. F. MEYERS, State Printer, Harrisburg, 1876.

This volume, which is prefaced by a "Map of a part of the Middle British Colonies prior to the Revolution from Governor Pownall's Map of 1776," contains a list of Pennsylvania marriages, alphabetically arranged; a list of the persons naturalized in Pennsylvania up to 1774; a record of officers and soldiers in the service of the Pro-

vince of Pennsylvania, 1744-1764; of Indian traders, Mediterranean Passes, Letters of Marque and Ship's Registers, 1743-1776; Papers relating to the Province of Pennsylvania prior to the Revolution, and the Journal of Colonel James Burd.

WAKEFIELD CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH—A COMMEMORATIVE SKETCH, 1644-1877, by REV. CHARLES R. BLISS. 8vo, pp. 90. Wakefield, 1877.

The title of this sketch gives no information as to what section of the globe the town of Wakefield is in. We find in its pages, however, that it was an offshoot from Lynn, Massachusetts, and that the church in question was founded in 1644-5. The church belongs to the Congregational order, and has passed through various changes of exercise, discipline and of doctrine also; for, although the Rev. Pastor assures us that the "creed of the Church is the same that it was 112 years ago," there has been a wide departure from the tenets of the primitive establishment.

A chapter of interest contains biographical sketches of eight of the pastors of the congregation. One chapter is entitled, in good old-fashioned style, "Concerning the gathering," which, for the information of the mundane, we will translate to be the celebration demanded by the exigencies of Centennial patriotism.

GENERAL JOHANN ANDREAS WAGENER, EINE BIOGRAPHISCHE SKIZZE VON H. A. RATTERMANN. REDAKTEUR DES "DEUTSCHER PIONIER." 8vo, pp. 30. MECKLENBERG & ROSENTHAL, Cincinnati, 1872.

A biographical sketch of a Confederate officer who was in command at Hilton Head when it fell into the hands of the Union fleet. In the closing words of the sketch "He was a thorough German and loved his countrymen," to whom he was a faithful friend.

TAXATION IN MASSACHUSETTS. BY WILLIAM MINOT, JR., OF BOSTON. 8vo, pp. 73. A. WILLIAMS & Co., Boston, 1877.

A sharp attack upon the policy, efficiency and justice of the present system of taxation, in which he shows that while the laws as made centuries ago remain the same, the conditions of society are changed. Some of this author's premises with regard to our general revenue system are peculiarly and forcibly put; thus he shows that if any citizen invests money in ships sailing from a seaport rather than from Philadelphia, he forfeits

\$15 for every \$1,000 so invested for such offence; every foreigner loaning money to build houses in Massachusetts forfeits \$15 annually for such offence.

Notwithstanding these eccentricities of style and statement which are rather a feature of Boston literature, the work is a valuable contribution to the vexed question of taxation.

ESSEX INSTITUTE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS, Volume XIII, Part IV. October 1876. Published by Essex Institute, 1877.

This number contains a continuation of the "Orderly Book of the Regiment of Artillery raised for the defense of the town of Boston in 1776." Of this regiment Thomas Crafts was Colonel and Paul Revere Lt. Colonel. This is followed by copies from the Early Records of the Town of Rowley, Mass.; a sketch of the Dean family in Salem. There is little of general interest to notice.

HISTOIRE DE LA MARINE FRANÇAISE PENDANT LA GUERRE DE L'INDÉPENDANCE AMÉRICAINE PRÉCÉDÉE D'UN ÉTUDE SUR LA MARINE MILITAIRE DE LA FRANCE, ET SUR SES INSTITUTIONS DEPUIS LE COMMENCEMENT DU XVIIIE SIECLE JUSQU' A L'ANNÉE 1877. Par E. CHEVALIER CAPITAINE DE VAISSEAU. 8vo, pp. 517. Librairie HACHETTE & CIE., Paris, 1877. For sale by F. W. CHRISTERN, New York.

This volume supplies a want that has long been felt by students of American history. The author himself complains that the important part played by the French marine in aid of the United States, from 1778 to 1783, has never been faithfully presented, and that there are still many misapprehensions which it is important to correct. In the beginning of the French intervention the movements of the French fleet were marked by extreme prudence, and the dash of the Admirals was arrested by the circumspection of the Cabinet. It was not until the combat of Ouessant, when a tactical advantage, if not a decided victory, was won over Keppel and the English fleet that the Ministers took courage and left their officers to conduct their own operations.

Before entering upon the main theme of his work, Captain Chevalier gives in a preface a well-digested and lucid account of the history of the French Navy, from its organization by Richelieu in the reign of Louis XIII., and its development by his successor, Colbert. Under the regency the navy fell into neglect, and the breaking out of the war of the Succession found it entirely unfitted to cope with the English fleets. The peace of 1763 definitely established the maritime power of Great Britain.

The history proper is an exhaustive account of the operations on the American coast, the correctness of which in other than a purely historical sense is quite beyond other than technical criticism. The manoeuvres are recited in detail, and the numbers of vessels and weight of metal of the contending squadrons or ships given from indisputable authorities. He condemns the timidity of d'Estaing as a commander while doing justice to his personal bravery. To d'Orvilliers he ascribes both ability and intrepidity and the reputation of being the most capable general officer in the Marine, but his personal leaning is towards the Bailli de Suffren, whose qualities were exceptional, and whose name is in France a household word, as that of Nelson in England or John Paul Jones in America.

From these pages we learn that the documents preserved in the Archives of the French Marine, concerning the war of American independence, amount to one hundred and thirty-three manuscript volumes, of which forty-four relate to the battle of Dominique. We regret there is no "compte rendu" of these precious documents.

Such a volume as this should be at once translated by some competent hand.

IS OUR REPUBLIC A FAILURE? A DISCUSSION OF THE RIGHTS AND WRONGS OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH, by E. H. WATSON, 16mo, pp. 436. The Author's Publishing Company, New York, 1877.

In the introduction the author announces her intention to present a "historical work written while the facts were occurring which initiated the rule and policy which the whole country is coming to perceive is not that of a true Republic." We look in vain for the reason of this book—praising and condoning in turn the separate rights of States and of the Union made more perfect after the failure of the Confederation by the "whole people of the United States"—the author draws no certain conclusions. We cannot see that any lessons are to be drawn from this volume, wherein we find innumerable premises, but no logical conclusion. Perhaps we may find in it a justification of the old theorem, that the mind of woman is suggestive, but not logical.

TWO YEARS IN CALIFORNIA, BY MARY CONE. With Illustrations. 16mo, pp. 238. S. C. GRIGGS & Co., Chicago, 1876.

A purely descriptive volume, which positively tempts one to go to California, inhale the balmy air, and enjoy the beauty and surprise of the wonderful nature here graphically described. This lady gives excellent and practical advice, which the emigrant will do well to consult before he abandons the habits of fixed civilization for the hardships of a new country which natural beau-

ties will not much modify in the absence of usual comfort. The tourist will find the book equally serviceable. John Chinaman has a chapter all to himself, and full credit is paid to the invaluable services of this industrious, patient and economical race as a factor not only in Californian development, but California Civilization. Her descriptions of the temples and theatres of the Chinese are admirable. The book is delightful in matter and manner, the printing and presswork are in excellent taste, and the illustrations while simple are creditable.

which the Governor presented each of his companions with a golden horseshoe, which, to its shame be it said, the British Government penuriously refused to pay for. This chapter, which includes also the Journal of Mr. Fontaine and the Diary of Captain Philip Slaughter of the Virginia line, contains important contributions to history. A division, under the head of Genealogies, contains brief sketches of the historic families of Madison, Garnett, Spotswood, Pendleton, Slaughter, Strother, and others less familiar.

THE MAINE GENEALOGIST AND BIOGRAPHER. A Quarterly Journal published under the direction of the Maine Genealogical and Biographical Society. WILLIAM BERRY LAPHAM, A. M., Editor. Volume II, 1876-7. Printed for the Society, Augusta.

The June number is before us. It contains notes upon the Ricker, Eddy, Kittery and Cilley families, and a notice of John Lothrop Motley, by which we learn that the father of the historian, Thomas Motley, was born in Portland and educated in the counting room of James Deering; later he became a merchant in Boston, where he married a daughter of Dr. John Lothrop. The Motley family is descended from John Motley, who emigrated from Belfast, Ireland, to Portland in 1734. There is also a memoir of Major-General John Blake, a lieutenant in the revolutionary army. A careful index adds value to this periodical.

A HISTORY OF ST. MARK'S PARISH, CULPEPPER COUNTY, VIRGINIA, with Notes of Old Churches and Old Families, and Illustrations of the Manners and Customs of the Olden Time. By Rev. PHILIP SLAUGHTER, D. D. 12mo, 1877.

The reverend author is well known for his previous labors in Virginia history on the authority of vestry books and registers, of which he has already published those of St. George and Bristol parishes. This book opens with an account of the St. Mark, the author's native parish, and a valuable sketch of Sir Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, who erected the first parish church, and also organized and equipped at Germanna "the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe," who first passed the Blue Ridge and blazed the way to the valley of Virginia in 1716, reaching and crossing the Shenandoah river.

A chapter of "historical excursions" recites this memorable expedition, on the return from

OUR THEOLOGICAL CENTURY; A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES, by JOHN F. HUNT, D. D. 12mo, pp. 70. A. D. F. RANDOLPH & Co., New York, 1877.

A contribution to the theological history of the American Church. The century of American theology is divided into five periods. I. *The Liberal and Scriptural Period*: A reproduction in the practice of the founders of New England churches of the doctrine of Calvin. II. *The Reactionary Period or the Half Way Covenant*, in which the movement to separate State from Church began in the New England mind. III. *The Controversial Period*, in which by the power of Jonathan Edwards and the celebrated Whitefield strong doctrinal lines began to disappear. IV. *The Unitarian Period*, when, under the impulse given by Dr. Ware, the "compact structure of New England theology" broke from its foundation, and has never yet been restored. V. *The Œcumenical or Irenical Period*, which is the first approach to a common ground of Christian charity and intercourse, if not of belief. Doctrine begins to give way to practice, and a Catholic feeling among all sects seems to be the near future of religion in this country. America, in its large and Catholic principle, may yet realize the idea of a religious republic, in which, under all forms of individual thought, the one great principle of the Christian religion, "love to all men," will be the control and controlling idea.

NOTES AND ADDITIONS TO THE HISTORY OF GLOUCESTER, by JOHN T. BABSON. Part First, Early Settlers. 4to, double column, pp. 94. M. V. B. PERLEY, Gloucester, Mass., 1876.

Genealogic notes, originally published in the Gloucester Telegraph, concerning the families of those who were inhabitants of the town before 1701, most of whom have still their representatives bearing their names in Gloucester to-day. The Volume is essentially biographical.

FOREIGN REVIEWS.

It is the purpose of the Editor to notice all articles relating to American affairs, which may appear in the reviews published abroad, as a guide to readers.

REVUE HISTORIQUE DIRIGÉE PAR G. MONOD et G. FAGNIEZ. Deuxième année. Tome troisième. Janvier.—Avril 1877. Librairie GERMIER BAILLIÈRE & CIE, Paris. For sale by F. W. CHRISTERN, New York.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES XLVIIIÈME ANNÉE. Troisième période. Tomes vingtième a vingt troisième. Janvier—Juillet, 1877, Paris. For sale by F. W. CHRISTERN, New York.

LE CORRESPONDANT—NOUVELLE SÉRIE. Tomes, soixante dixième a soixante deuxième. Librairie de CHARLES DOUNIOL & CIE., Paris. For sale by F. W. CHRISTERN, New York.

LES PUBLICISTES AMÉRICAINS ET LA CONSTITUTION DES ÉTATS-UNIS, par NOAILLES DUC D'AYEN. *Le Correspondant*, 10 February, 1877.

This first part of a careful analysis of the present condition of the United States is not very cheerful reading; recent events, however, show that it was intended for home consumption, and to play a part in the legitimist scheme to overturn the rule of the Republic in France. Beginning with the assertion that the Philadelphia exhibition has been in no way advantageous or creditable to the United States, the duc d'Ayen seeks out the causes of this decadence, and closes with the query, whether our own Cassandras are right in their belief that the great Republic is drawing to its close. We are not of those who believe in the decay of morality, private or public, in this country, or that we need shrink from comparison with any nation in Europe. Here constant change in administration secures constant responsibility, and the press, carrying its liberty of criticism to its extreme verge, exaggerates every abuse. Abroad, under a continuing bureaucracy, evils are concealed or excused. In our cities, overwhelmed with a foreign element, uneducated and untrained, universal suffrage brings severe trials; but we assert unhesitatingly that the government service of the United States is, as a whole, better performed, and with more celerity and precision, than that of any foreign government without exception, and with as little loss from peculation or fraud by connivance of officials. A long experience on both sides of the water leads us to prefer the results of personal observation to the theories of others.

The duc d'Ayen is of opinion that statesmen cannot be "improvised;" that they are only formed by "time and tradition." Experience contradicts this also. When our public men have met the trained statesmen of Europe, they have shown themselves their equals always, often their superiors, and have proved that the broad common sense which our practical life teaches is a better training than that acquired in government or diplomatic bureaux.

LE JOURNALISME AUX ÉTATS UNIS, M. C. DE VARIGNY. *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1 March, 1877.

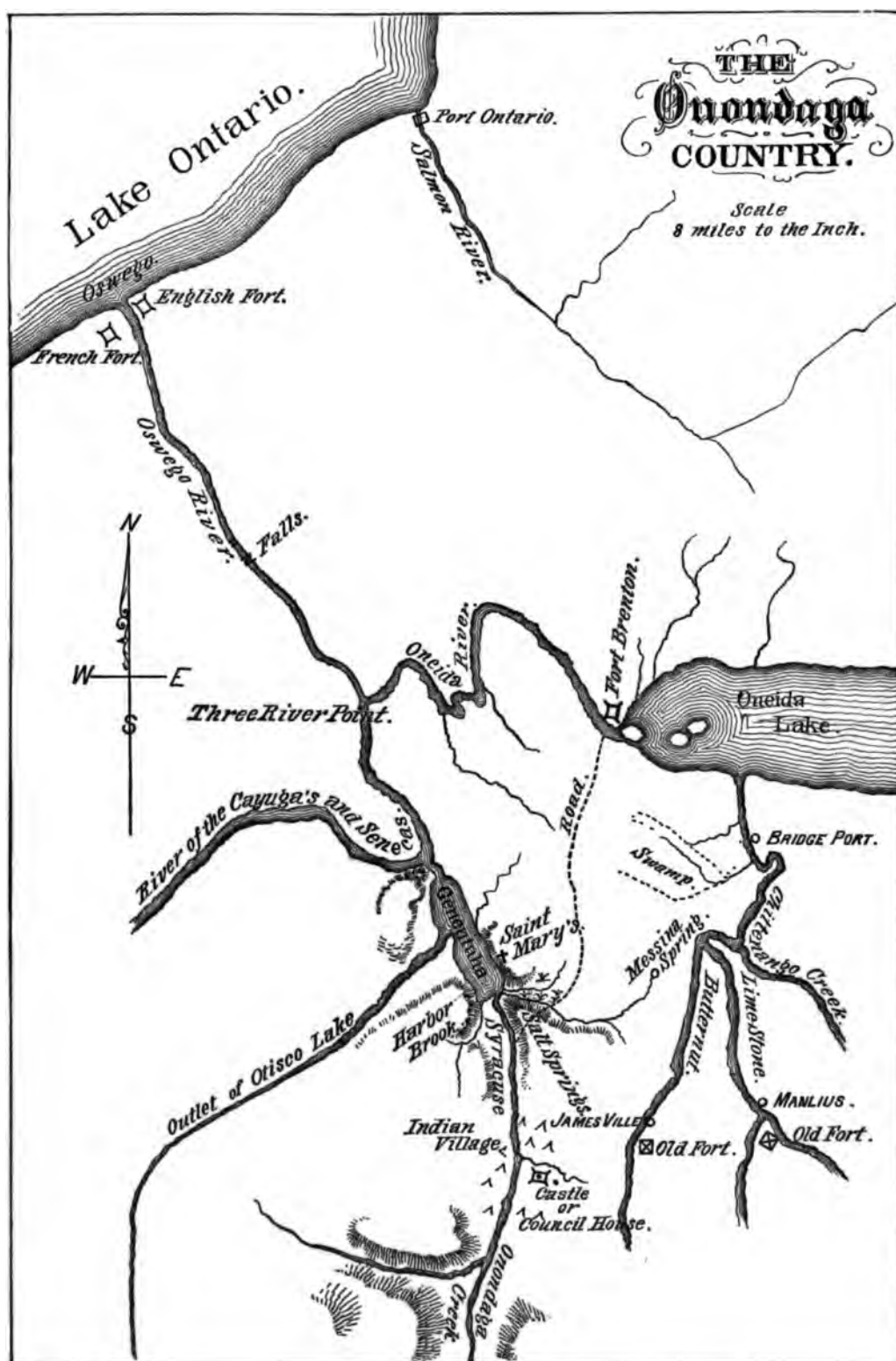
In vivid contrast with the contemptuous allusions of Noailles (in the article from *Le Correspondant* just noticed) to the Philadelphia Exhibition is the opening paragraph of this interesting sketch. The sentiment which the progress of the United States in its century of existence excites in the mind of M. de Varigny is that of "astonishment; the results may be criticised in detail, but they are nevertheless prodigious." The attention of the author is specially directed to our journalism, which he traces from the first paper published in Boston, 1690, "Public Occurrences," to the year 1870, when the number was 5871, out of a total for the entire world of 7642. If the development of the Press be a sign of progress what a lesson is here. The Reaction in France may draw a salutary lesson from the result of the effort to bridle the press in America, which brought on the Stamp Act revolt and ultimately the American revolution.

LES MÉMOIRES D'UN HUMANISTE AMÉRICAIN.

GEORGE TICKNOR. I. His youth and early voyages. II. Europe from 1835 to 1838. III. The old age of a Federalist, by M. H. BLERZY. *Revue des deux Mondes*, April 15, May 1, May 15, 1872.

These three sketches form an admirable biography of this interesting character, whose happy fortune it was to have seen the best society of America and Europe, and also to have been the intimate friend and correspondent of the literary celebrities of both hemispheres. It is in the second part of his critique that the reviewer has his best field, in his description of Ticknor's interviews with Fauriel, Jomard, Jouffroy, Villemain, Thierry among the literary men; of his visit to the salon of the Duchess de Rauzan, where he met Tallyrand and the Duke de Broglie, and where Guizot was a constant guest. Monsieur Blerzy complains in sadness that the good will of Ticknor was not with France in her late contest, but there is no poison in his pen and no personal feeling mingles with his patriotic regret.

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THE FRENCH INVASIONS OF ONONDAGA

I WAS much interested in reading Mr. O. H. Marshall's article in the January number of THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, on Champlain's expedition against the Onondaga Indians in 1615, and I fully agree with him that it was a fort near Onondaga, not at Canandaigua, that Champlain tried to capture, and from which he was driven in disgrace, wounded and carried in a basket, borne by his friendly Canadian Indian allies. But I do not think that it was the fort on Onondaga Lake which he attacked, but that it was the "Castle" so called, at or near the present Indian village on the Onondaga Creek, on the mouth of which stands the city of Syracuse, or possibly, some place east of the castle.

Champlain crossed the Oneida River at the lower end of the lake, and on the 9th day of October, 1615, his scouts "captured eleven Iroquois who were on their way to their fishery, *distant four leagues from their fort*. The captives consisted of three men, four women, three boys and a girl." (*Clark's Onondaga, vol. i, p. 253.*) "The next day, which was the 10th, at 3 o'clock P. M., we arrived before the fort" (*Magazine, p. 3*). The distance from the river to the fort, on Onondaga Lake, is about four leagues, by any practicable line of march, and upon this statement of distance is based the opinion that this was the fort which Champlain besieged. Clark in his history of Onondaga describing this fort, says: "It may have been the stronghold of the Iroquois in the Onondaga Country, and may be the same attacked with so much vigor by Mons. Champlain in 1615," and Mr. Marshall knowing that there was a fort on Onondaga Lake about four leagues from the fine fisheries at the lower end of Oneida Lake, naturally assumes that it was the fort attacked by Champlain. I think fuller investigation will show that these high authorities have received a false impression in this particular.

Champlain did not *measure* distances, he guessed at them, and as Mr. Marshall argues, he did not always guess very well. Probably he more often over estimated than under estimated distances, but as the Indian

trail from the Oneida Lake to their villages, south and southeasterly therefrom, crossed but few obstructions, such as wide swamps or considerable streams, he may for once have made better progress than he supposed. He was part of two days in making the distance. If he left the river on the morning of the 9th, coming in sight of the village at 3 P. M. on the 10th, he had ample time to reach the ancient settlements of the Indians.

That he was following the Indian trail, is shown by his capturing prisoners that he met on the way from their village to the fisheries. Whether this explanation is satisfactory or not, it is the most probable one that occurs to me.

Champlain says: The Indian "village was enclosed with four strong rows of interlaced palisades, composed of large pieces of wood, thirty feet high, not more than half a foot apart and near an unfailing body of water." Such a work must have covered considerable ground, as the "village" was within it. If we suppose that the "village" was the capital and stronghold of the central tribe of the Iroquois, who had then long ruled over a large part of the country, we know that this fort must have been a very large one. Wherever it may have been situated, it is certain, from the description, that it was made at the cost of immense labor, by a people whose axes were of stone, and who had no beasts of burden to draw these "large pieces of wood thirty feet high," no means of excavating holes in which to plant the palisades, except such as belong to savages. The Onondagas were a great people, but we should hardly have considered them equal to so great a work.

Champlain says he attacked this fort and gave its defenders their first knowledge of the effect of fire arms. "As soon as they saw us and heard the balls whistling about their ears, they retired quietly into the fort, carrying with them their killed and wounded. We also fell back upon the main body, having five or six wounded, one of whom died (*Clark's Onon.*, vol. i, p. 254)." After this repulse, Champlain constructed a moveable tower, of sufficient height to overlook the palisades, and when the tower was finished, two hundred of the strongest men advanced it near to the palisades. "I stationed four marksmen on its top, who were well protected from the stones and arrows which were discharged by the enemy." Clark says, quoting from Champlain's account, that the Iroquois had placed conductors to convey water along the palisades to the outside to extinguish fire, and that "galleries were constructed outside of the palisades protected by a ball-proof parapet of wood, garished with double pieces of wood."

The French drove the Iroquois from the galleries, and an attempt was made to fire the palisades, but the Indians "brought and threw water in such abundance that it poured in streams from the conductors and extinguished the fire in a very short time." * * "The battle lasted three hours," and ended in the total defeat of the French. Champlain was twice wounded by Onondaga arrows, and was forced to retreat, being himself carried on the back of one of his Canada Indians, doubled up in a heap in a basket, unable to stir "any more than an infant in its swaddling clothes." * * "As soon as I had strength to sustain myself, I escaped from this prison, or to speak plainly, from this hell." So the Governor of Canada fled, ignominiously, from an enterprise that he should never have undertaken. He was unable to reach Quebec that fall, but had to spend a dreary winter among the Huron Indians, and only reached Quebec the following June, "where he was received as one risen from the grave."

This was the introduction of the Iroquois to men having "pale faces," and who called themselves christians—and thus was a war commenced, that with occasional truces, lasted until the French power was extinguished in Canada. In the great contest which determined that English men should govern on this continent, the Iroquois are credited with turning the scale in favor of the victors.

Bancroft says: "Thrice did Champlain invade their country, until he was driven with disgrace from their wilderness. The five nations in return attempted the destruction of New France." * * The "Iroquois warriors scoured every wilderness to lay it waste; depopulating the whole country on the Ontario, they obtained an acknowledged superiority over New France. The colony was in perpetual danger and Quebec itself was besieged."

From the straits of this war the French found partial relief in the labors of the Jesuit missionaries. For a better understanding of the whole subject, I give a short description of the lake and its surroundings.

Onondaga Lake is a body of water about six miles in length and about one and a quarter in width. The southeast end, or head of the lake, is quite wide and receives its greatest feeder, the Onondaga Creek, near the northeast angle. (The channel of this creek has recently been changed in consequence of the construction of a branch of the Central Railroad across it.)

From this northeast angle, a low swamp or marsh extended in a northeasterly direction for about two miles, that in very high water is still overflowed for most of that distance, and before the outlet of the lake

was lowered and straightened by the State, all the low lands at the head of the lake were overflowed during much of the summer season. The swamp that extends northeast from the lake, has on both its sides bluffs that rise from twenty to thirty and more feet. The bluff on the south shore is the termination of wide table land, on which most of the city of Syracuse stands. The bluff on the north side the swamp extends along the north shore of the lake for nearly two miles, and then slopes more gradually.

On the bluff on the north shore were found the remains of a fort that Clark supposed was the one besieged by Champlain. He quotes from a manuscript of my father, Judge James Geddes, as follows: "In the summer of 1797, when the Surveyor General laid out the salt lots, I officiated as deputy surveyor, and when traversing the shores of Onondaga Lake, I found between Brown's Pump Works and Liverpool the traces of an old stockade, which I surveyed and made a map of. Our opinion was, from the truth of the right angles and other apparent circumstances, that it was a French work. A fine spring of water rises near by."

Clark says: (*p. 147, vol. ii.*) "On this ground have been plowed up brass kettles, gun barrels, musket balls, axes, grape shot, &c. In 1794 the ditch was easily to be traced and some of the pickets were standing. *The work contained about half an acre of land.*"

From the foregoing we may fairly say that this fort on Onondaga Lake is too small in any way to meet Champlain's description. The only supply of water was outside. The spring would have been taken by Champlain and he would have occupied the space between the fort and the lake, and thus cut off all supply of water. The spring is not sufficient to furnish water for putting out the fires as described in the account of the siege. If the way to the lake was open to the Indians, they had no vessels adequate to bringing the water, and if they had such vessels, Champlain's muskets and his Huron Indian arrows would have prevented their bringing the water in that way. If the fort had been located below some abundant supply of water, we could understand how the fires could have been put out by it.

The brass kettles, gun barrels, &c., plowed up here, tell of French, not Indian occupancy, and I think they will be sufficiently accounted for in that way. It is proper to say here, that the country around this fort has never given evidences of extensive Indian settlements—no great fields of corn, whose hills the early settlers would have seen had there been any, gave evidence of such occupation. Every consideration is against any supposition that this was ever the head centre of the Iro-

quois confederacy. The very name of the central tribe contradicts any such supposition. "Men of the Mountain" is the meaning of the word "Onondaga." The north side of Onondaga Lake is a great plain; the villages of the tribe have been among the hills of South Onondaga, generally on running streams, where a full supply could be conducted from the brooks that come down the valleys which indent the mountain sides. Champlain does not mention a lake, but "an unfailing body of water." (*See p. 3 of Jan. Mag.*)

The site of the fort on the north side of the lake is most commanding, overlooking the lake and the slopes of the last spurs of the Alleghany Mountains on the other side of the lake, and has no ranges of high land near it on the north, east, or west.

When Champlain invaded Onondaga, there must have been a village near the place that is now the home of the Indians. The first missionary came to Onondaga in 1642, only 27 years after Champlain's raid (*Clark, vol. i, p. 130*).

But it is not until 1653 that I can find positive evidence of the approximate location of the village. "August the 5th, says the 'Relation' of Father Le Moyne, we traveled four leagues before arriving at the principal Onondaga village." Where was this *principal* village? On the 15th of August he set out on his return to Quebec, and "on the 16th," he says, "we arrived at the entrance of a small lake (Onondaga). In a basin, half dry, we tasted the water of a spring, which the Indians are afraid to drink, saying that it is inhabited by a demon who renders it foul. I found it to be a fountain of salt water, from which we made a little salt, as natural as from the sea, some of which we shall carry to Quebec."

"On the 17th we entered the outlet of the Lake and passed the river of the Seneca's on the left."

Thirty-eight years after Champlain's invasion, the principal village of the Onondaga's was at a considerable distance from the salt spring, which is at the head of Onondaga Lake and about two miles southeast of the remains of the fort on the north shore of the lake. On the 17th day of August, Father Le Moyne sailed by the place, afterwards, as I think, the site of the French fort surveyed by Judge Geddes. Had there stood on that ground only 38 years before such a work as Champlain described, surrounding an Indian village, it could hardly have failed to attract the missionary's attention and notice in his minute journal.

It is very difficult to give any reason why in these 38 years the Onondaga's should have so moved their important fort. There is no tradition of any such Indian fort on the north shore of the

lake, but there is a tradition that the principal village was long ago on the table lands east of James Ville, and the evidences of great corn crops having been there raised, were found by the early settlers, whose descendents now till the lands. In the towns of Pompey and Manlius, and near and beyond the east line of the county are the remains of extensive forts and evidences of ancient occupation of which we know little, except that blacksmith's tools, muskets and cannon balls, gun locks, saws, fragments of church bells, mixed with specimens of brown pottery and nearly every variety of Indian relics have been found. Nothing like this has ever been said of the north shore of Onondaga Lake.

If the facts I have thus far presented are sufficient to justify the supposition that Champlain besieged an Indian village, south of the salt spring, then I venture to express the opinion that, after capturing his prisoners on his way from Oneida River, he followed the Indian trail, passing east of the swamp which I have described as reaching some two miles northeasterly from the lake. This was the most direct line, and had no serious obstacles to a quick march over it. From the highlands of the eastern part of the city of Syracuse he would have probably seen the lake on his right, but I do not think he was ever within a mile of its shores.

There is an important fact in regard to the shores of Onondaga Lake that should be mentioned. Except at a few points, the water, near the shore, is so shallow that there are but few good landing places about the head of the lake. The mouth of the largest stream that flows into the lake, Onondaga Creek, had a bar that barely allowed a light canoe to pass over. Further west the landing was better. Near the southeast angle of the lake there is a stream that is now, and was by the Indians, called "Harbor Creek." There in the midst of a swamp they landed, on their return from hunting and fishing, and unloaded their canoes, and from thence went by land to their village some eight miles away. The name of this harbor was given to Judge Geddes, "Don-da-dah-gwah," for his Indian title, as it was here that he landed with his salt kettles in 1794.

Having, as I think, shown that the fort on the shore of Onondaga Lake was not the point of Champlain's attack, I will now give what I believe to be its true origin, and an account of some preceding events.

The excuse made for Champlain's invasions was that when the French came to Canada in 1603 they found the Adirondack Indians settled where Quebec stands, to which place they had been driven from their former homes by the Iroquois, and the French became allies of the Adi-

rondacks in their wars; thus taking part in a quarrel, the merits of which must have been entirely beyond their knowledge, and in which they could have had no proper interest, and having failed in war to conquer the Iroquois, the French next tried the influences of a religion whose great precepts they had so signally violated.


In 1623, Henry de Levi, Duc de Ventadour, who was himself both a noble and a priest, was made Viceroy of New France. He established a mission among the Indians near Quebec in 1625, and gradually the labors of the missionaries were extended into the wilderness, and no men have ever labored with more zeal and devotion than did the Jesuit Priests. They explored the country, learning new languages, submitting to hardships without number, and quite often suffering martyrdom through Indian tortures at the stake; many of them wrote accounts of their work, and these relations give us the only authentic early history of the central part of New York State.

As early as 1642 Father Isaac Jogues visited Onondaga as prisoner of a band of Iroquois, who captured him and his party while on the way from Upper to Lower Canada. Most of the party were massacred, but Father Jogues was spared, and granted uncommon personal liberty. He went through the forests worshipping and teaching, writing the name of Christ and graving the cross on the bark of trees; and finding his way down the Mohawk river, was finally humanely ransomed by the Dutch, and returned to France.

So in 1644 Father Bressani was taken prisoner on "his way to the Hurons, beaten, mangled, mutilated; driven barefoot over rough paths, through briars and thickets; scourged by a whole village; burned, tortured, wounded and scarred. He was eye-witness to the fate of one of his companions, who was boiled and eaten. Yet some mysterious awe protected his life, and he, too, was at last humanely rescued by the Dutch." (*Bancroft, vol. iii, p. 134.*) And thus the religion of Christ came to Central New York.

The French had become tired of the war, and in 1645 a great meeting was held at Three Rivers, where it was "agreed to smooth the forest-path, to calm the river, to hide the tomahawk. 'Let the clouds be dispersed,' said the Iroquois. 'Let the sun shine on all the land between us.'"

"In May, 1646, Father Jogues, commissioned as an envoy, was hospitably received by the Mohaws, and given an opportunity of offering the friendship of France to the Onondagas." He returned safely to Canada, and gave a favorable report, that led to a permanent mission



being attempted among the Five Nations; and he, the only one who knew their dialect, which he had learned while their prisoner, was sent on the mission. "*Ibo, et non redibo.*" I shall go, but shall never return. This was his farewell.

He went directly to the Mohaws, the most savage and ferocious of the Five Nations, who "received him as a prisoner, and against the voice of the other nations, he was condemned by the grand council of the Mohawks as an enchanter who had blighted their harvest. Timid by nature, yet tranquil from zeal, he approached the cabin where the death-festival was kept, and as he entered received the death-blow. His head was hung upon the palisades of the village, his body thrown into the Mohawk River."

War followed, resulting in dreadful ruin to the Canada Indians, every effort being now made by the French for peace, without favorable result. But the Iroquois, having through commerce with the Dutch at Albany learned the use of fire-arms, dominated "not only over the Indians of the north, the west, and the southwest, but over the French themselves. They bade defiance to forts and entrenchments; their war parties triumphed at Three Rivers, were too powerful for the palisades of Silleri, and proudly passed the walls of Quebec." (*Bancroft.*)

At length satisfied with the display of their power, the Iroquois desired rest, probably influenced somewhat by their Huron prisoners, who in accordance with Indian customs, had been adopted and incorporated into the Five Nations, some of them still retaining their love for the French and the christian faith that had been taught them by the faithful Jesuit Priests.

In 1653 peace was concluded and Father Le Moyne appeared as envoy at Onondaga to satisfy the treaty. "He found there a multitude of Hurons, who like the Jews at Babylon, retained their faith among strangers," and they received the priest with great joy. It was on his return to Quebec that he visited the salt springs, as before related.

In 1655 Chaumonot and Claude Dablon were hospitably welcomed at Onondaga, and built a chapel, "and there in the heart of New York the solemn services of the Roman Church were chanted as securely as in any part of Christendom."

The salt springs were visited, "two leagues" from the village, and "near the lake Genentaha; and the place chosen for the French settlement, because it is the center of the Iroquois nations, and because we can from thence visit in canoes various locations upon the rivers and lakes, which renders commerce free and commodious." (*Clark, vol. i, p. 150.*)

Claude Dablon returned to Quebec for re-enforcements, being thereunto urged by the Onondagas, and again leaving Quebec on the 17th of May, 1656, to return to them, and on the 11th day of July entered Lake Genentaha, "on whose shore we had designed to pitch our camp, where the old men, knowing it to be the places elected by Fathers Chaumonot and Dablon, awaited us with a great multitude of people."

After giving us a good description of the lake, its salt springs, the birds and snakes that frequent it—the Relation goes on to say, "We embarked five pieces of cannon, whose diminutive thunder rolled over the lake; this was the first salute sent over the water." "Then we took a ride in our canoes or little bateaux, going four by four." The 12th of July they sang the *Te Deum*, and formally took possession in the name of Jesus Christ, dedicating and consecrating it by the holy sacrament of the mass.

"On Monday, the 17th of July, 1656, "we commenced work in earnest upon our dwellings, and made a good redoubt for our soldiers. We have placed it upon an eminence which commands the lake and all the surrounding positions. Springs of fresh water abound. In short the place appears as beautiful, as convenient and advantageous as we could desire. While the laborers were thus occupied, our Father Superior, to whom the Lord has restored health, went with sixteen of our most stalwart soldiers to the village of Onondaga, distant about four leagues from our dwelling." [The true distance, is about ten miles.] (*Clark, vol. i, p. 162.*)

On the 27th of July the party returned to the shore of the lake, to find a dwelling completed, which they named St. Mary's of Genentaha. The history of this stockade from the day of its foundation is thus certainly known, and has sufficient interest to justify us in following it further.

"The French who were at St. Mary's of Lake Genentaha, performed all the trades of a city, to get us lodged and preserve us amidst the barbarians. * * We had to labor much, sleep little, lie upon the ground, sheltered only by miserable barks, eat only a little meat, without bread or wine, or other seasoning than hunger. We were tormented both night and day by musquitoes, which there assailed us on every side. All this, combined with the change of climate and the great labor of the journey, so injured our constitutions, that we all fell sick. It was a pitiful sight to see sometimes as many as twenty, almost piled upon each other, at a time and in a country where we had no other help than heaven."

When this country was first settled by the fathers of the present owners, scenes quite like this were witnessed on the shores of our then malarious waters every autumn, only to pass away, as it did with the French, when the frosts came with their healing powers.

The necessary supplies of provisions for the subsistence of the colony, and of presents for the natives, to preserve their good will, were not sent from Quebec, and the mission languished. "The Indians finding the French slow in bestowing presents, and becoming in a degree tired of supporting them, as might naturally be supposed, their regard for christianity relaxed and their affections for the French declined."

The Mohawk tribe had never been entirely reconciled to this settlement in the centre of the Iroquois Confederacy, and soon it became apparent that the Indians were maturing a plan to kill the whole colony. War between the Iroquois and the French broke out anew, and by February, 1658, it became evident that the French must abandon St. Mary's of Genentaha, promptly, or suffer death there at the hands of the savages. There was no hope of assistance from Canada, and strangely, they had no boats to use in their retreat. A christian Indian informed the commandant, Monsieur Depuys, of the plot against him, and the construction of small light boats was at once commenced in the store room, which was secluded, and the largest place they had in which they could work and not be observed by the Indians.

On the 19th day of March the Indians were entrapped into a feast (that ended in a profound sleep), and under cover of the night the Frenchmen fled, and though there was yet much ice in the rivers, they made such haste that they reached Montreal in fifteen days (*Clark, vol. i, p. 184*). Bancroft says: "At last, when a conspiracy was framed in the tribe of the Onondagas, the French, having vainly solicited reinforcements, abandoned their chapel, their cabins and their hearths, and the valley of the Oswego. The Mohawks compelled Le Moyne to return; and the French and the Five Nations were once more at war. Such was the issue of the most successful attempt at French colonization in New York."

The Indians now armed with muskets, carried the war to Montreal, nearly exterminating the Canada Indians, having at some times as many as thirty captives at Onondaga, saved from the terrible death usually inflicted upon prisoners. These captives, uniting with the native converts to christianity, are said to have kept up the worship of God through all the wars that followed. Peace was again made, and again the missionary penetrated the forest.

De Witt Clinton, in an address delivered before the New York Historical Society, said : "From the Jesuit's journal it appears that in the year 1666, at the request of Garakontie, an Onondaga Chieftain, a French colony was directed to repair to his village for the purpose of teaching the Indians the arts and sciences, and endeavor, if practicable, to civilize and christianize them. We learn from the Sachems that at this time the Indians had a fort a short distance above the village of Jamesville, on the banks of a small stream ; a little above which, it seems, the Chief, Garakontie, would have his new friends *set down*. Accordingly they repaired thither and commenced the labor, in which being greatly aided by the savages, a few months only were necessary to the building of a small village."

This colony remained for three years in a very peaceable and flourishing condition, during which time much addition was made to the establishment, and a small chapel built in which the Jesuit used to collect the barbarians and perform the rites and ceremonies of his church. About this time (1669) a party of Spaniards, consisting of twenty-three persons, arrived at the village, guided by some Iroquois from the Mississippi River. They had been informed that there was a lake "to the north, whose bottom was covered with a substance shining and white, which they took from the Indians description to be silver."

"Having arrived at Onondaga Lake and the French village, and finding no silver, they seemed bent on a quarrel with the French." * * "The Spaniards told the Indians that the only object of the French was to tyrannize over them. The French, on the other hand, asserted that the Spaniards were laying a plan to rob them of their lands."

"The Indians by this time becoming jealous of both, determined to rid themselves of these intruders. Having obtained assistance of the Oneidas and Cayugas, they agreed upon the time and manner of attack. A little before daybreak, on *All Saint's Day*, 1669, the little colony, together with the Spaniards, were aroused from their slumbers by the discharge of fire arms and the war-whoop of the savages. Every house was immediately fired or broken open, and such as attempted to escape from the flames were killed by the tomahawk, and not one of the colonists or Spaniards were left alive to relate the sad disaster." And so perished the second French colony that was planted in Onondaga. The Onondagas were cruel, but the French and their Indian allies, prompted to action by the Jesuit Priests, were no less cruel, as many a massacre of Indians gives proof.

The war went on with varying fortune, and when twenty years had passed, mostly in bloodshed, Count Frontenac returned in 1689, as Gov-

error of Canada, to find that Montreal had been captured and burned by the Five Nations, Fort Frontenac evacuated and razed. From Three Rivers to Mackinaw there remained not one French town, and hardly even a post (*Bancroft, vol. iii, p. 179*). Frontenac made unavailing efforts for peace with the Iroquois, but war in its cruelest form raged for years. England being at war with France formed a close alliance with the Iroquois, and the French aided by Canada Indians made frequent inroads into New England and the frontier settlements of New York. In January, 1690, a party from Montreal of one hundred "and ten, composed of French and of the christian Iroquois, for two and twenty days, waded through morasses, through forests, and across rivers to Schenectady," and near midnight of February 8th set fire to the dwellings and raised the war-whoop. Some of the inhabitants, half clad, fled through the snow to Albany. Sixty were massacred, seventeen of them children (*Bancroft*).


New England suffered from like invasions, and many of the people were killed or carried into captivity. Great deeds of bravery were performed and indescribable suffering endured. The French were generally successful under the wise leadership of Frontenac, and by 1696 the French dominion was extended in the east to the heart of Maine. In the west, unfortunate efforts had been made by the English for the conquest of Canada; they had been all abandoned, and Frontenac was able to turn his whole force against the Iroquois. He had endeavored by treaties and missions to win their good will, and had tried to terrify them, by invasions into the Seneca and Mohawk countries; the French showing less mercy to prisoners than the Indians. "The Governor of Montreal had ordered no quarter to be given, unless to women and children; but the savage confederates insisted on showing mercy; and the French historian censures their humanity as inexcusable, for Schuyler of Albany, collecting two hundred men, pursued the party as it retired and succeeded in liberating many of the captives." (*Bancroft, vol. iii, p. 189.*)

Failing to end the war by these measures, Frontenac determined to rally all the force he could, and though seventy-four years of age and infirm, to take the command in person and invade the central tribe, and, if possible, destroy the power of the Confederacy. Having made the fort at Cadaraqui (now Kingston) strong and garrisoned it, and storing there provisions, arms and ammunition which, in case of disaster might be useful, he gathered his regular troops that had learned the art of war in the old world, and his farmers and artisans and laborers of every

degree, taking the whole body of the Canadian militia and Indians of many tribes, including the proselyted praying Iroquis, and on the 4th day of July, 1696, commenced his march from the Island of Montreal. Boats were the means of conveyance; they of such light construction that the troops could carry them around such rapids as might be too formidable to surmount. The van of the army was under the immediate command of the Governor of Montreal, Le Chevalier de Callières, and consisted of two battalions of regulars and five hundred Indians.

He had two large boats carrying two small cannon, which was followed by the mortars, grenades, artillery utensils and ammunition; then came the provisions. Next in order came the Vice Roy, at the head of the main body, accompanied by a large number of volunteers under the Chevalier de Grais, his Engineer, and four battalions of the militia, commanded by the Governor of Trois-Rivieres. Two battalions of regulars and some Indians, under De Vaudreuil, brought up the rear. *Clark, vol. i., p. 279.* Indians scouted the shores of the River St. Lawrence to prevent ambuscades, and at every "carrying place" parties protected those engaged in carrying the boats and stores. Twelve days of toilsome work brought the army to their depot of supplies at Fort Frontenac (Cadaraqui), one hundred and eighty miles from Montreal. Here they tarried some days for reinforcements of Indians who did not come, and on the 26th day of July resumed their advance, and on the 28th reached the mouth of the Oswego River, called in the history of the expedition "Onontague."

The Canadians were now in a narrow river, and in the country of their enemy. Fifty scouts on each shore felt the wilderness, "and the army proceeded only according to their reports." After progressing five leagues, which took two days, the flanking parties were largely increased. And thus they toiled up the Oswego, making but slow progress. Frontenac was "borne in his canoe by fifty savages" around the great falls, they "singing and uttering yells of joy." Near the entrance of the outlet of Onondaga Lake, a drawing of the army on the bark of a tree was found, as a notice to the invaders that they were observed; and a bundle of rushes, numbering 1,434, indicating that that number of warriors awaited them. The short outlet which connects the lake with the river that runs within a little more than half a mile of its west end, bringing the waters of the lakes of the country of the Senecas and Cayugas, had a winding course and a rapid current through a dense swamp, and was very narrow, giving many important points for defense; and the French approached it with great caution, giving no opening for



proached the Indians with becoming slaves to the French, calling them dogs of dogs, and telling them to remember him when vengeance was executed on them, and this was the only Onondaga killed."

A detachment consisting of six or seven hundred of the most active of the whole army—soldiers, militia and Indians—was sent to Oneida, fourteen leagues distant. The corn of the Oneidas was destroyed, as well as their fort and cabins, and thirty-five among them, some of the principal chiefs, were made prisoners; they having remained at the village in the vain hope of averting disaster.

Having accomplished this much, and burned a Mohawk that was retaken at Oneida, the French started on their return to Canada on the 9th day of August, and "encamped midway from the fort, where the bateaux were left," having three of the Canada Indians killed, who had remained behind in the hope of finding more plunder. "The fort (St. Mary's, of Genentaha) was reached on the 10th and destroyed," and on the 20th they reached Montreal; being watched all the way by the Iroquois, and having every canoe that became separated from the main body cut off. This is the last of the invasions of the valley of Onondaga by the French. The victory was barren of useful results, and great injury to the French was caused by taking the Canadian militia from their fields in harvest time, and the scarcity of provisions that resulted was quite as severely felt in Canada the next year as it was at Onondaga, the government of New York furnishing the Oneidas and Onondagas corn to relieve them. (*Colonial History*, vol. iv, p. 174.)

In 1697, England and France made the treaty of Ryswick, and soon the French and the Iroquois made another treaty of Amity, which the "Canadians considered one of the greatest blessings that could be bestowed upon them. Nothing could be more terrible than this last war; the French ate their bread in continual fear. No man was sure when out of his own house of ever returning to it again. While laboring in the fields, they were under perpetual apprehension of being killed, or carried off to the Indian country, there to dole out a long and fearful captivity, or to die in lingering torments. In short, all business and trade were often entirely suspended; while fear, despair and misery blanched the countenances of the wretched inhabitants. On the return of the French Commissioners from making the treaty, they brought with them several Chiefs of the Five Nations from Onondaga. They were complimented, and received with every demonstration of respect by the French at Montreal; and thus it always is with a brave people, who struggle through every difficulty, until they finally triumphed with

honor. Many of the French prisoners among the Five Nations had become so attached to their new friends, that they remained in Onondaga and ended their days among the savages." (*Clark.*)

The individual Frenchman has all along taken kindly to the natives of America, and but for the mistake of Champlain and the unwise treatment of the Five Nations that followed, the government of the continent would have fallen to the French rather than to the English.

The Dutch approached the Indians from the east, and treated them justly, and by so doing gained their lasting friendship. The English, succeeding the Dutch, continued their friendly policy; the effect of which was that in the revolution which made us a nation, the Indians sustained the royal government.

The peace made between the Indians and French, which followed the treaty of Ryswick, of September 10th, 1697, between England and France, may properly be considered as ending the wars against the French conducted by the Indians independently of English direction. Henceforth they acted almost entirely in accordance with English policy, and on the great battle fields where England and France continued to dispute the supremacy of the continent, the Iroquois were constantly acting as allies of England.

When England acknowledged the independence of the United States, no provision was made for the Indians that had fought on the side of the English, and they were left entirely to our mercy. The Mohawks dispersed as a tribe, most of them going to Canada, where their descendants yet live. There were two views taken by the people of the State of New York as to the policy to be adopted in regard to the Indians, who had carried fire, the scalping knife and the tomahawk, not only to Wyoming and Cherry Valley, but along all our border settlements, murdering women and children, or driving them at midnight into the snows of winter to perish miserably. One, and by far the most numerous party, proposed to drive them all out of our State, if it might be, into the arms of their Canada allies. A smaller party, headed by General Schuyler, and aided by the great influence of General Washington, favored the plan, which was adopted, of leaving the Indians small reservations within the State, where a remnant of them still remains.

With the Western Indians, who sided with England in the war of the Revolution, no peace was really made. Armies were sent against them, that suffered ambuscade and dreadful disaster; and a hundred years of war have followed.

GEORGE GEDDES

MARTIAL LAW DURING THE REVOLUTION

The proclamation of martial law by General Gage at Boston, June 12th, 1775, and by Governor Dunmore, in Virginia, on the 7th of November of the same year, met with the severe denunciation of the American people; but martial law, whether enforced justifiably or not, is sure to be opposed by those who become subject to its action.

The arraignment of the King of England in the Declaration of Independence has been cited as showing that the men, who were willing to go to war on the issues there made, could never have admitted the truth of the principles involved in a proclamation of martial law. There is no stronger proof that it is a necessary accompaniment of war, than the fact that our forefathers were themselves compelled to resort to it at the very beginning of and throughout the Revolution. A few instances will be given.

By the 37th of the Articles of War adopted by the Continental Congress June 30th, 1775, it was declared that "whosoever belonging to *the continental army*, shall relieve the enemy with money, victuals, or ammunition, or shall knowingly harbor or protect an enemy, shall suffer such punishment as by a general court-martial shall be ordered." This was law for the government of the military forces—military law. On the 7th of November of the same year—on the report of a committee appointed to confer with the commander-in-chief—Congress adopted certain additions, alterations and amendments to the Articles of War, amongst which was the following: "All persons convicted of holding a treacherous correspondence with, or giving intelligence to the enemy, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as a general court-martial shall think proper." This was martial law; that is to say martial law proper, as defined by Chief Justice Chase in the dissenting opinion in *ex parte Milligan*.

Again, on the 27th of December, 1776, the following resolution was adopted: "The unjust but determined purpose of the British court to enslave these free States, obvious through every delusive insinuation to the contrary, having placed things in such a situation that the very existence of civil liberty now depends on the right execution of military powers, and the vigorous, decisive conduct of these being impossible to distant, numerous and deliberative bodies: This Congress having maturely considered the present crisis, and having perfect reliance on the wisdom, vigor and uprightness of General Washington, do therefore,

“Resolve, That General Washington shall be, and he is hereby, vested with full, ample and complete powers to raise and collect together, in the most speedy and effectual manner, 16 battalions of infantry * * * ; to take wherever he may be, whatever he may want for the use of the army, if the inhabitants will not sell it, allowing a reasonable price for the same; to arrest and confine persons who refuse to take the continental currency, or are otherwise disaffected to the American cause, and return to the States of which they are citizens their names and the nature of their offences, together with the witnesses to prove them.”

This was a statutory sanction of martial law, and as regards the seizure of private property, *not* an exercise of the right of eminent domain. [The difference between the law of “overruling necessity” and the right of eminent domain is discussed in the Law Register for July, 1874, in an article entitled “war claims against the United States,” by Wm. Lawrence.]

The next resolution of Congress authorizing the enforcement of martial law was that of October 8th, 1777, which was only to remain in force until January 1st, 1778, but was extended by a resolution of December 29th. “Whereas it is of essential consequence to the general welfare that the most effectual measures should be forthwith pursued for cutting off all communication of supplies or intelligence to the enemy’s army now in and near the city of Philadelphia; and whereas it has been found by the experience of all the States that in times of invasion the power of the municipal law is too feeble and dilatory to bring to a condign and exemplary punishment, persons guilty of such traitorous practices:

“Resolved, That any person being an inhabitant of any of these States, who shall act as a guide or pilot by land or water for the enemy, or shall give or send intelligence to them, or in any manner furnish them with supplies of provisions, money, clothing, arms, forage, fuel, or any kind of stores, be considered and treated as an enemy and traitor to these United States; and that General Washington be empowered to order such persons, taken within thirty miles of any city, town or place in the States of Pennsylvania, Jersey, or Delaware, which is or may be in the possession of the enemy’s forces, to be tried by a court-martial, and such courts-martial are hereby authorized to sentence any such persons convicted before them of any of the offences aforesaid, to suffer death or such other punishment as to them shall seem meet.”

Under this resolution one Joseph Murill, an inhabitant of Pennsylvania, was tried for giving intelligence, and acting as a guide, to the enemy. He was found guilty and sentenced to be executed: and Gen-

eral Washington, in an order issued from his headquarters at Valley Forge, 1778, approved the sentence, and ordered it to be carried into effect. Murill's execution was, however, subsequently indefinitely postponed.

On the 3d of April, 1778, Washington also approved and ordered the execution of the sentence of William Morganan, of Pennsylvania, who had been convicted, under the same resolution, of coming out of Philadelphia and attempting to steal and carry back a horse. The sentence in this case was, "to be kept at hard labor during the contest with Great Britain, not less than thirty miles from the enemy's camp, and if he be caught making his escape, to suffer death." Orders dated March 25th, and April 13th, 1778, approve the sentences in several similar cases; none, however, being capital.

Again, on the 27th of February, 1778, Congress resolved: "That whatever inhabitant of these States shall kill, or seize, or take, any loyal citizen or citizens thereof, and convey him or them to any place within the power of the enemy, or shall enter into any combination for such a purpose, or attempt to carry the same into execution, or hath assisted, or shall assist therein; or shall by giving intelligence, acting as a guide, or in any other manner whatever, aid the enemy in the perpetuation thereof, he shall suffer death by the judgment of a court-martial, as a traitor, assassin or spy, if the offense be committed within seventy miles of the headquarters of the grand or other armies of these States where a general officer commands."

The effect of this resolution—and it did not escape observation at the time—was to suspend (for instance, in Boston and other parts of Massachusetts, which were not the seat of war, but were within seventy miles of Providence, the headquarters of a general officer who commanded a small army) the judicial authority of the State in particular cases, and to subject criminals, ordinarily triable under the laws of the State, to military trial.

It was under this resolution that Joshua H. Smith was tried by court-martial for complicity with Major André. After André's first interview with Arnold, he did not return to the Vulture, sloop-of-war, which had taken him up the river, but went to Smith's house, where he spent a night and day. Smith went on board the Vulture on a mission from André, and when the latter undertook his fatal trip he wore a suit of Smith's clothes. The court-martial being of opinion that it had jurisdiction under the resolution of February 27th, 1778, the following charge was exhibited against Smith: "For aiding and assisting Benedict

Arnold, late a Major-General in our service, in a combination with the enemy, for the purpose of taking, seizing, and killing such of the loyal citizens and soldiers as were in garrison at West Point and its dependencies." The finding of the court was, that "the evidence produced on the trial and the prisoner's defence being fully and maturely considered by the court, they are of opinion that, notwithstanding it appears to them that the said Joshua H. Smith did aid and assist Benedict Arnold, late Major-General in our service, who had entered into a combination with the enemy for the purposes which the charge mentions, yet they are of opinion that the evidence is not sufficient to convict the said Joshua H. Smith of his being privy to, or having a knowledge of, the said Benedict Arnold's criminal, traitorous, and base designs. They are, therefore, of opinion that the said Joshua H. Smith is not guilty of the charge exhibited against him, and do acquit him."

Washington subsequently delivered over the prisoner to the Government of New York, with the view to his trial by civil process if deemed advisable; but whilst thus held he effected his escape, and was not recaptured.

G. NORMAN LIEBER



ABEL PARKER UPSHUR

SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES, 1842-1844

Abel Parker Upshur, one of a family of twelve brothers and sisters, was born at the old homestead, Vacluse, in Northampton county, Virginia, in 1791, his parents being Lyttleton and Anne Parker Upshur. He lost his father early in life, at which juncture the Vacluse estate was found much involved, so that Abel's instruction and preparation for college were conducted for the greater part by his talented elder brothers.

His beginning of student life, technically so-called, was at Princeton, but certain disturbances arising among the youth regarding their respective States' rights and Federalistic political views, Mr. Upshur bade adieu to the institution at the close of the first session, transferring his future collegiate life to Yale, where he was graduated honorably. Subsequently a law pupil of Hon. William Wirt, the young student, now a denizen of Richmond, was, in view of the troublous state of affairs at home, practising the most rigid and, it must added, honorable economy. He found it feasible to respond but in a measurable degree to the demands society was constantly making upon his presence. The State capital was in its hey-day, socially speaking, at that time; the gifted Maria Mayo, afterward Mrs. General Scott, and her more beautiful sister, subsequently Mrs. Cabell, being the reigning belles. Mr. Upshur appeared among them costumed plainly, but as became a gentleman, and it is a well-known fact that for one entire season he subsisted on bread and cheese purchased at a neighboring shop, while his sleeping apartment was the summer-house in a garden in Franklin street. All this in the rigid resolve to free himself from debt—debt incurred for his collegiate expenses, repaid afterward, when the family estate had been happily engineered through all its vicissitudes—the good son and brother having resolutely refused one cent therefrom while his mother lived or his sisters were helpless.

By and by he became a successful practitioner of the law in Richmond, but afterward sought the old home again. His native county returned him in 1825 as member of the State Legislature, and in 1827 he succeeded his uncle, Judge Parker, on the bench, whence, on Mr. Tyler's accession to the Presidency in 1841, he was called to be a member of his Cabinet. First filling the position of Secretary of the Navy

("Jack" remembering him to this day as the man who abolished flogging in the navy), on Mr. Webster's resignation in 1842, Mr. Upshur succeeded him as Secretary of State.

In 1826 he married his cousin, Miss Elizabeth A. B. Upshur, the daughter of John Brown Upshur, of Accomac county; the issue of this marriage was an only child, a daughter, who afterward married Lieutenant Ringgold, U. S. A., of Washington City.

The beloved and beautiful home, Vacluse, was now, in 1841, given up for a residence among the gayer, but not more congenial scenes of the National Capital.

As the Ashburton Treaty had been the crowning event of Mr. Webster's premiership, so the annexation of Texas was the *coup d'état* of his successor's service, and many go so far as to ascribe in great measure to Mr. Upshur's policy the accession of these thousands of square miles in all their vastness and quality values to the territory of the United States. The venerable George Wythe Munford of Virginia, author of the "Reports," alluding to Mr. Tyler and his administration, says: "When he summoned around him as members of his Cabinet such men as John C. Calhoun and Abel Upshur and Thomas W. Gilmer and John Y. Mason and Hugh S. Legare, men of exalted talents, of high-toned character and virtues, of upright honesty and deserved popularity, the genial warmth of other days began to revive, party asperity began to be mellowed and softened, and long before his death he was again beloved, and was held in high estimation as a virtuous patriot."

Quoting from another portion of the same essay, we find: "I hope you will bear with me while I attempt to draw a faint sketch of another orator, whom I think one of the most gifted of our Virginia statesmen. I allude to Abel P. Upshur, a jurist, a judge, a representative, a member of the Convention of 1829-30, Secretary of the Navy and Secretary of State during the administration of Mr. Tyler.

"His forte I think was in a deliberative assembly. I heard him on many occasions at the bar, for he was for a long period attorney for the commonwealth in this city. I have listened to his lucid, short, distinct and able opinions delivered off-hand as a judge. I witnessed some of his efforts in the convention, but the most powerful speech of his life that I know of, was delivered in the House of Delegates on the proposition to repeal the law which prohibited a man from marrying his wife's sister."*

*Named in the statutes, "The Incestuous Marriage Bill."

"Judge Upshur was of large frame, broad shoulders, expanded chest, fine head, high and capacious forehead as if the brain had pressed it outward. It was like the massive brow of Daniel Webster, though his eyebrows did not throw the dark shade upon the face that Webster's did, but there was a sunshine playing upon the features as if the light had been reflected from his exceeding bald head."

"One eye was defective, but the other was so speaking that it threw the defective one in the shade. At that time old General Samuel Blackburn was a member from the County of Bath. He was a remarkable man, too, in his day—was a grim, morose old customer, who had a peculiar intellect of his own, which displayed uncommon powers, but delighted most in cutting hits upon his brother members, and his blows had been given so hard and repeated so often, that he became a terror to the young, and the older avoided encounters with him. He had never failed to turn the laugh upon his antagonists, and make them subjects of his ridicule and mirth. Judge Upshur had delivered a master effort in favor of the bill before the house, and when he concluded, having delighted all beyond measure, and the effect was manifest in the beaming countenances of the audience, and in the quivering tear that hung on the undried lid and which rough men were ashamed to wipe away lest they might unfold their weakness, General Blackburn undertook to dispel the illusion, and by the employment of his old weapons to break the force of the argument. He let slip all his dogs and attempted to worry the game by snapping and barking, but as long as he confined himself to howlings at arguments which were untouched and unimpaired, a playful smile only lighted up the Judge's face. At length, however, he took another tack and assailed his personal appearance, drawing upon his fancy for imaginings derogatory to his personal character, and he essayed to laugh him to scorn and throw him into contempt. Then I saw the great man's bosom heave, and his countenance seemed to grow radiant with a glow—the inspiration of the orator filled his soul. When Achilles was about to draw his sword against Agamemnon, his king and chief, we are told the blue-eyed goddess suddenly stood behind him with terrible look invisible to every one but himself, seized his yellow hair and assuaged the wrath of the young hero with prudent advice. He withdrew his mighty hand from the silver handle and the sword dropped back into the scabbard. Not so Upshur; the blue-eyed Pallas lent him the Ægis of Jove, and he shook the flaming boss full in the eyes of all the house. He began with tones that moved the hair on your head, and told that his blood was up. He was as calm as he is who in danger

knows no fear. With measured step and slow he stalked along, and he balanced his words in his hands to see that they were well chosen and of the proper weight. There was a solemnity around that you could feel. He kept removing the little impediments from his path, and as he advanced he grew warm, energetic, chaste, sublime, and when at last he had acquired the proper pitch and felt the key-note had roused his brain, he turned upon the foe,

' And with a withering look
The war denouncing trumpet took.'

and his words hissed and scorched. And then he left, as it seemed, the hateful theme, and he would come back to the subject in debate, and with a mellowed voice, soft tones were dropped, as if the lighter shades were thrown in to make the darkness gloomy and the night more black, and then he would serenely recall the imputation on his person and character that had roused his ire, and assuming the tones with which he first began, he drove right onward and still he kept his wild, unaltered mien, while each strained ball of sight seemed bursting from his head.

"I never shall forget that day. I never shall forget the look of the denounced and discomfited assailant. I never shall cease to remember the spell that bound the hearers, and how men gave expression to their feelings by pressing around the speaker when he concluded, giving him the cordial grip of the sympathetic hand. Such is a faint effort to give you some idea of the manner of the roused and animated Upshur."

Of the speech alluded to by Mr. Munford as "the most powerful of his life," and what was everywhere recognized as Mr. Upshur's crowning success in oratory and argument, it was never reported, and as he kept, or in fact had no notes, it is lost, save to the memory of those who heard it.

The most voluminous contribution left by him to the literature of his country is, as its title-page bespeaks: "The Federal Government, Its True Nature and Character; Being a Review of Judge Story's Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States," a work considered thoroughly able and exhaustive, or else incendiary and treasonable, according as the standpoint of criticism may be from a Federalistic or States'-Rights view.

Upon the merits of this or that doctrine as in array one against the other, it is all inexpedient to cavil now. It may be more in accord with the spirit of the centennial year just past away, and certainly not less profitable in any view to turn over the columns of an old issue of the *Boston Courier* at present in the writer's hands. The occasion treated of

once just to Massachusetts and grateful to Virginia, permit me to propose—Massachusetts—Foremost in the conflict by which our liberties were won, and foremost to show us what our liberties are, when won.”

The great national calamity by which Secretary Upshur and other prominent personages were suddenly swept into eternity is fresh in the memory of many now living. Thomas W. Gilmer, Secretary of the Navy, Virgil Maxcy, Commodore Beverly Kennon, David Gardiner, of New York city—all by one fell swoop of the great destroyer passed from that festive scene on board the war steamer Princeton to the solemn realities of the mystical Beyond.

The occasion was an excursion down the river, for the testing of Com. Alex. Stockton's new gun, the “Peace-maker.” Horrible the irony concealed under that name! At about four o'clock in the afternoon the company were summoned, from their hilarious fête in the cabin, to come above. The ship was approaching Mount Vernon and the salute would be given by the new implement of war. “Let them remove the dead men,” said Mr. Upshur, laughingly, pointing to the empty champagne bottles, as he rose from the table responsive to the summons. A moment more, and mirth and laughter were turned into wailing. A crash—an explosion—and as the thick cloud passed away there lay—horrible sight! the lifeless bodies of those named, scattered here and there over the deck. Some were mutilated in a shocking manner. Mr. Upshur's death-wound was by the lodgment of a heavy segment of the gun upon his breast. There was only a slight abrasion of the skin on the forehead, and no interruption of the peaceful, eminently benevolent smile—the prominent characterization of his countenance in life. The last playful remark ever reported of him, as set down here, seemed something prophetic of his impending fate. Another somewhat singular incident of the catastrophe, as regarded Judge Upshur, was that the heavy iron weight which so suddenly stilled the current of the wearer's life, drove the hands of his watch immovable into the dial. Thus it will doubtless stand many a year to come—

“*The horologe of eternity!*”

recording in fatal fixedness the dire date—Twenty minutes to Four o'clock, of that Twenty-eighth day of February, Eighteen Hundred and Forty-four.

MARY UPSHUR STURGES

DIARY
OF GOVERNOR SAMUEL WARD
DELEGATE FROM RHODE ISLAND
IN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, 1774-1776
Part III

SECOND CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION.
—September 4th, 1775. Set out [from Westerly, R. I.] for Philadelphia, dined at Russell's, lodged at Durfey's.—5th. Oated at Saybrook ferry, dined at She-dar's, and lodged at Beer's.—6th. Oated at Stratford ferry, dined at Penfield's, lodged at Betts.—7th. Breakfasted at Stamford, dined at Haviland's (Rye), lodged at Kingsbridge.—8th. Dined at Mr. Bayard's, lodged at Newark.—9th. Breakfasted at Graham's, oated at Dawson's, dined at Farmer's, Brunswick, lodged at Hyer's, Princetown.—10th. Oated at Trenton ferry, dined at Bristol, oated at "Wheat-sheaf."—11th. Mr. President and Mr. Cushing, S. Ward, the Connecticut delegates, Mr. Crane of the Jerseys, several Pennsylvania, lower County, Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina and Georgia delegates met, and adjourned to the next day.—12th. Members from the above Colonies met, were joined by Messrs. Adams. For want of a quorum did no business; adjourned. Mr. Hopkins came into the City.—13th. Met. The President took the chair the first time. Letters from Generals Washington, Schuyler, etc., two from General Washington to General Gage, and one from Gage read. Leave granted to Dr. Franklin to receive his books, papers, etc., just arrived. Leave granted to two Virginia men to reload and export a cargo which was shipped, timely, on board a vessel

cast away. Mr. Hopkins was with us until one.—14th. Met. A number of letters from General Schuyler, etc., read. Dr. Stringer appointed Chief Physician and Surgeon to General Schuyler's army, to be paid for his medicines and supplies; the same pay as the other Chief Physician. The motion from Georgia considered and referred; (Mr. Hopkins until one); the address of that Provincial Congress to the King read and their resolves. Treaty with the Six Nations read; a plan for taking Fort Detroit, proposed by Mr. Wilson and Colonel Morris, rejected. Colonel Morris, appointed a Commissioner at the Indian Treaty for the Middle Department.—15th. Met. Dr. Walker of Virginia appointed a Commissioner in the room of Mr. Henry. Goods, arrived in Georgia before 6th August last, to be sold or re-shipped at the option of the proprietors. If sold, first cost and charges to be reimbursed the owners; the profits to be applied by the Provincial Congress for the defence of the Colony. (Mr. Hopkins [remained] until half past one).—16th. Entered upon General Washington's letters; referred to Monday. Next Tuesday assigned for consideration of the trade of the Colonies.—A motion that no provisions, hides, or leather, sheepskins, flax-seed, be exported—postponed. (Mr. Hopkins until one).—18th. Agreed that proper persons be appointed a Committee to procure five hundred tons [of] powder, and, if [there is] not so much to be had, saltpetre to make up that quantity; forty brass field pieces, twenty thousand double bridled gunlocks, ten thousand stands of arms [and] flints. Received an express from General Schuyler: he

made his landing good, repulsed the party that attacked him, and returned to Isle aux Noix. (Mr. Hopkins [remained] till half past one.)—19th. Took into consideration General Schuyler's letters, appointed a committee to answer them; gave Colonel Fenton leave to go to England or Ireland, he not to take up arms against us; appointed Mr. Willing, Dr. Franklin, Mr. P. Livingston, Mr. Alsop, Mr. Deane, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Langdon, Mr. McKean and Mr. Ward, a Committee for purchasing powder, etc. (Mr. Hopkins as usual.)—20th. Finished letter to General Schuyler, [a] copy to be sent [to] General Washington: General Washington's letter resumed. Mr. Gridley to have a commission as Colonel. (Mr. Hopkins [left] as usual.) State of trade referred.—21st. Sundry accounts preferred and postponed. Appointment of a Brigadier General deferred until the Army is new modelled. General Washington to commission, as Brigade Majors, Box, Sam. Brewer, and Scammel. General Schuyler to appoint a Brigade Major. Judge Advocate's pay, for him and clerk, fifty dollars per month. A Committee appointed to consider of the best means of supplying our Army; their names, Mr. Deane, Mr. Ward, Mr. Cushing, Mr. P. Livingston, Mr. Willing.—An account for duck [sail-cloth], etc., of James Milligan, Jr., allowed. Committee of Berks County's accounts; £2,038.7s.1d. for rifle-men under Colonel Thompson referred to the Committee; Colonel Thompson to send an account, how he disposed of the money, 5,000 dollars. (Mr. Hopkins as usual.)—22d. Letters from [the] Provincial Congress of New York: estimate and plan of fortifications on the

Highlands, referred to to-morrow. Letters from Mr. Morris and Mr. Wilson relative to disturbances between Virginians and Pennsylvanians, near Pittsburgh, referred to the morrow. Door-keeper's accounts allowed. Upon Major Rogers being taken into custody, ordered, that if nothing but his being on half pay be found against him, that he be discharged on parole.—Dr. Franklin, Mr. J. Rutledge, Mr. Jay, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Deane and Mr. Willing appointed a Committee to take into consideration [the] state of the trade of the Colonies. A Messenger's accounts allowed. Mr. Hopkins as usual.—23d. Upon reading a letter from the Quartermaster General, relative [to] coarse goods for clothing the soldiers, ordered, that Mr. Lewis, Mr. Willing, Mr. Deane, Mr. Alsop, Mr. Langdon, be a Committee to purchase £5,000 worth [of] coarse woollen goods for the use of the Continental Army, to be placed in the hands of the Quartermasters General for the soldiers at prime cost and charges; the quartermaster to have five per cent. for his trouble. Some accounts allowed. The letters from Morris and Wilson referred to Monday. (Mr. Hopkins as usual.) A parcel of medicines for the hospital ordered to be bought.—25th. The Committee appointed to audit the Rifle accounts, etc., is authorized to draw for a sum not exceeding two thousand dollars. Colonel Lee, Mr. J. Adams and Mr. Lynch, a Committee to take General Washington's letters into consideration and report.—A Committee for auditing all accounts appointed: Mr. Langdon, Mr. Cushing, Mr. Ward, Mr. Deane, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Smith, Mr. Wil-

ling, Mr. Rodney, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Gadsden, Dr. Zubly.—Letters from Colonel Morris and Mr. Wilson taken into consideration and referred. (Mr. Hopkins [left] as usual. Shall not minute it again, unless he sits all day.)—26th. Letters from Colonel Morris, etc., deferred. Letter to General Washington.—27th. Copy of Journal presented and partly read. Kettles, canteens, etc., allowed the soldiers. One hundred and sixty thousand dollars ordered [to be paid] to Connecticut on account. Several accounts, Robert Erwin, etc., allowed. Journal read and ordered to be printed.—28th. Attended the invitation of the City on board the Galleys.—29th. A letter from General Washington. Several accounts allowed. The powder Committee to purchase some said to be arrived. President to sign all orders on the Treasury. Three members appointed to go to the Camp, to consult General Washington, the Governors [of] Connecticut and Rhode Island, the President of the Congress of New Hampshire, and the Council of the Massachusetts, upon the most effective method of continuing, supporting and regulating, a Continental Army.—30th. Dr. Franklin, Mr. Lynch and Colonel Harrison, the Committee.—John Rutledge, Colonel Lee, R. R. Livingston, S. Adams and Mr. Johnson, a Committee to draw instructions for the above Committee: President to write to General Washington, (to acquaint him with the appointments,) and the Governors, Council and President; desiring them to attend the Committee, 12th October next. Postage of letters to be same as usual. Some accounts allowed. A complaint made

by delegates against the Connecticut people at Susquehannah. A report from the Committee for considering of the trade, etc., read.

October 2d. The above report read again, and referred to a Committee of the whole Congress to-morrow morning.—Instructions to General Washington: soldiers to be paid by calendar months.—October 3d. Several accounts allowed. Carbines and pistols sold to [the] Committee of Safety. The General may give to the Army one month's pay, upon taking booty. Commissary General to contract for such quantities [of] beef and pork as the General thinks necessary, and salt it up at the Camp. 300,000 dollars to go by the Committee to [the] Paymaster General. Expenses of the Committee to be paid by the Continent: the Committee to confer with Mr. Rittenhouse.—[I] presented our instructions for carrying on the war effectually and building an American fleet.—4th. Allowed a vessel going to South Carolina to carry certain stores enumerated. Resolved into a Committee upon the trade of the colonies. (Additional instructions to the Committee first given.) Only 189,467 dollars ready of the 300,000 yesterday ordered. Some accounts allowed. Then went into a Committee of the whole, etc. Mr. Ward reported that the Committee had taken into their consideration, etc., and desired leave to sit again to-morrow, to take into their further consideration, etc., which was accordingly resolved.—5th. Congress according to the order of the day went into a Committee of the whole, etc. After some debate a member produced a number of letters from England, which

were read, and Captain Read, just arrived, and the gentleman to whom the letters were written, desired to attend the Congress. Expresses sent to General Washington, Governor Cooke and Governor Trumbull, to send our several vessels to intercept two transports with powder, etc. Encouragement given to the men, etc. The vessels to go on the service to be at the risk of the Continent.—6th. Letters from Generals Schuyler and Montgomery. £20,000, Pennsylvania currency, in silver or gold, to be got for Continental money for the Canada expedition. Recommended to Provincial Assemblies and Conventions, [and] Committees of Safety, to arrest and secure such persons whose going at large may endanger such Colonies or the liberty of America. (This to be transmitted.) Committee for importation of powder to export, agreeable to the Continental Association, as much provisions or other produce of these Colonies as they shall judge expedient for the purchase of arms and ammunition. A Committee appointed to consider of the fortifications ordered to be erected on Hudson's River. Further report of the Committee for concerting a plan for intercepting certain [vessels] read. Ordered that the Congress [be] resolved into a Committee of the Whole to take into their consideration the state of the trade. Consideration of the instructions to the Delegates of Rhode Island put off to to-morrow.—7th. Letters from New York read. Consideration of Rhode Island instructions to be heard next Monday week. The money ordered for the goods [for the Army]. Report of the Committee, who took into consideration the letter relative

to fortification[s] on Hudson's River, accepted; and [a] recommendation to the Provincial Congress accordingly. General Wooster ordered (unless counter-ordered by General Schuyler,) to come down to the Highlands, leave as many troops as the managers of the works think necessary, and repair with the remainder to New York. Dispute between Pennsylvanians and Connecticut people referred to either (Colony's) Delegates to report on Monday next. Agreed to resolve into a Committee on Monday to consider the state of trade. Letters from Colonel Morris and Mr. Wilson referred to next Monday.—October 9th. A letter from the Commissary [General] relative to £500, advanced for Colonel Arnold; and the money ordered to be paid accordingly. Further order for exchanging £20,000, P. C[urrenc]y, for General Schuyler. Mr. Duane authorized to propose to the Committee of Safety of this Province to borrow one ton of powder for New York. Letters from Generals Schuyler and Montgomery read, [and] referred to a Committee, [namely] John Adams, John Rutledge, Mr. Chase, R. Livingston and Mr. Deane. The affair between Pennsylvania and Connecticut further referred. The Delegates of Pennsylvania to send what hard money the Treasurers have got to General Schuyler by two of the light horse. Recommended to the Provincial Convention of New Jersey to immediately raise two Battalions of eight Companies each, at Continental charge, each Company for one year: Sixty-eight privates and officers as recommended by Congress in the militia bill; privates at five dollars per month, and discharged at any time; allowing

one month's pay gratis, instead of bounty; one pair [of] shoes, one pair [of] yarn stockings and a felt hat given each private. Pay of the officers the same as that now in the Continental Army; if that be raised, the officers of these battalions to have the same.—10th. Some accounts allowed. The money sent to General Schuyler. Answer to General Schuyler's letter reported and referred. Appointments of field officers referred. To be resolved to-morrow into a Committee of the Whole to take into consideration the state of trade.—11th. Pennsylvania and Connecticut to report to-morrow. Some accounts allowed. Debate concerning field-officers resumed, and referred until the return of the Committee from Cambridge. Committee for billeting.—12th. Captain and other Commissioned Officers allowed while recruiting or on their march $2\frac{3}{4}$ dollars billet, and the men while in quarters one dollar per week, while on march $1\frac{1}{4}$.—Blanket and shirt allowed each soldier, if to be got, not to be in the terms of enlistment.—The President to transmit blank commissions to the Convention of New Jersey for the officers ordered to command the troops. John Penn, Esq., a Delegate from North Carolina, arrived, and took his place accordingly. Resolved into a Committee of the Whole for [the] consideration of the trade of the United Colonies. Mr. Ward reported that the Committee had taken into their consideration, according to the order of the day, the state of the trade, etc.—13th. Resolved into a Committee of the Whole, and resumed the consideration of trade, etc. Mr. Ward reported that, etc. A letter from General Washington, with papers relative to Dr. Church, etc. Resolved, that a swift sailing [vessel] to carry ten carriage guns and a proportionable number of swivels, with eighty men, be fitted with all possible dispatch to cruise three months eastward, for intercepting such transports laden with warlike stores and other supplies for our enemies, and such other purposes as the Congress may direct. A Committee appointed to estimate the expense, and report a proper vessel. Remainder of the report referred to Monday next. Memorials from New York and Philadelphia merchants relative to Tea. Messrs. Rutledge, S. and J. Adams, Mr. Ward and Colonel Lee, the Committee to take into their consideration the memorials and report.—14th. Letters from General Washington again taken into consideration; postponed to Monday. A Director General of Hospital, etc., to be chosen on Monday next. Affair between Connecticut and Pennsylvania referred until Monday. A Committee was moved for by the first [Committee].—16th. Letter from [the] Provincial Congress of New Jersey, requesting the liberty of appointing field officers to the two battalions proposed to be raised. Committee appointed to answer it. Letter from General Schuyler, enclosing letters from General Montgomery and others. Two hundred thousand dollars ordered to be sent to General Schuyler, under direction of the Pennsylvania Delegates. A ton of powder to [be] sent from New York to General Schuyler. A Committee to consider of further Ways and Means for promoting the manufacture of saltpetre; the saltpetre taken at Turtle Bay to be sent to the powder mills at

New York. Mr. Randolph and Mr. Hopkins appointed to confer with Mr. McPherson. A Committee to inquire what quantity of powder has been sent to General Schuyler. The order of the day further referred.—17th. A Committee appointed to consider and report what is fit to be done in the disputes between Pennsylvania and Connecticut. Some accounts allowed. Letter from Governor Cooke read. Dr. Morgan chosen Director General of the Hospital in the room of Dr. Church. President desired to write to the Convention of New York, to desire that all the sulphur in the City be removed to a place of safety.—18th. Report relative to the Tea read, and postponed generally. Delegates from New Hampshire presented an instruction from the Provincial Congress for the advice of Congress relative to their assuming government. Referred to Monday next. A Committee appointed to collect a just and well authenticated account of all hostilities committed since [the] first [of] March last by Ministerial troops and ships of war, and of the number and value of houses burnt and vessels taken.—19th. A petition from Messrs. Sears and Randal relative to Tea referred [for a] fortnight. Some accounts allowed. Report from Committee for considering the [method for] supplying the Army read. Order to Captain Sears for thirty thousand dollars on account of the flour supplied by him. Committee appointed to confer with Captain McPherson reported: Ordered that a letter be written to General Washington, recommending him to the General; to whom he is immediately to repair. The Provincial Convention of New York desired to transmit to this Congress copies of any proceedings of theirs upon a letter from Governor Tryon, or of the Mayor and Aldermen.—20th. Letter to General Washington relative to Captain McPherson read and approved: three hundred dollars ordered to be advanced to him. Resolved into a Committee of the Whole. Mr. Ward reported that the Committee had taken into consideration the matter referred to them, but, having come to no resolutions, desired leave to sit to-morrow, which was granted.—21st. According to the order of the day the Congress again resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, in order, etc. Mr. Ward reported as above.—22d. About eight at night Mr. Randolph died, having been ill but a few hours.—23d. Resolved to attend the funeral with a mourning crape round the left arm, to be continued a month. Mr. Middleton, Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Chase appointed to superintend the funeral and to request Mr. Duché to preach a funeral discourse. New appointment of the Delegates of the lower Counties [Delaware], their credentials presented and approved.—24th. Adjourned to two o'clock; adjourned to to-morrow.—25th. A letter from General Washington, 30th September; two from Gov. Trumbull, and one from (the) Convention of New York read: an answer to the Convention of New Jersey reported; the matter of field officers referred to the return of the Committee, and the Convention desired to raise the battalions with all speed. Some accounts allowed. Instructions from General Gage to Captain Campbell read and ordered to be published: examination of Campbell and others read, and copies to be sent to [the]

Convention of New York, with recommendation to them to seize [a Mr. Grant]. Mr. Hewes added to the Committee of Claims.—26th. Resolved, that the resolution of 15th July, relative to giving provisions or other American produce for powder be printed in handbills and sent throughout Europe and foreign West Indies. Convention of New York to take into their custody, blankets, shirts, etc., and send such of them as may be necessary for General Schuyler's army to him. A Committee appointed to take into consideration the letter from New York, and report an answer. An express ordered to Virginia, to inquire into the matter of rock saltpetre, and bring samples. A Committee (J. Adams, J. Rutledge, Mr. Ward, Colonel Lee, Mr. Sherman) appointed to take into their consideration the instruction to the Delegates of New Hampshire, and report their opinion thereon. The resolution for obtaining well authenticated accounts of hostilities, etc., ordered to be printed in the newspapers; then resolved into a Committee of the Whole: Mr. Ward reported a resolution that it be recommended to the Assemblies, etc., to export to the foreign West Indies, on account and risk of the Colonies respectively, provisions or other produce, except horned cattle, sheep, hogs and poultry, for the importation of arms and ammunition for their several Colonies.—27th. A report from the Committee appointed to take into their consideration a letter from New York was read.—The Congress then resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole. Mr. Ward reported that they had come into a resolution, etc.—28th. The Committee of Safety

of Philadelphia laid before Congress the examinations of Captain Campbell, etc., ordered to be confined in gaol by the direction of the Committee, the officers to be allowed ten shillings, Pennsylvania currency, a day, the privates 7/6. A Company [of] Matrosses ordered to be raised in the Province of New York.—Some accounts allowed. Mr. Wythe, Mr. Paine and Mr. Humphreys, added to the Saltpetre Committee. Five of the Committee of Claims to be a quorum for the future. The Inspectors of the press to deliver the proof-sheets and checks of the Continental bills to the Continental Treasurers, and they to deliver one to the Delegates of each Colony to be lodged with the Provincial Treasurer, and retain the rest in their hands.—30th. Four armed vessels ordered to be fitted out: a Committee for that purpose. Recommendation of [the] Provincial Congress of New Jersey for field officers referred.—31st. Letters from General Schuyler read. Resolved into a Committee of the Whole. Mr. Ward reported a certain resolution, and desired leave to sit again. Report referred. Resolve of the Assembly of Pennsylvania presented and referred to Friday.

November 1. Letter from General Washington, containing an account of [the] burning [of] Falmouth, etc., read. Copies to be forwarded to the several Colonies by the Delegates. A letter from the Committee [of Conference] with copies of their proceedings. The report of the Committee of the Whole ordered; that no provisions be exported, etc.; New York and the other excepted Colonies to take no advantage of such exceptions; no rice to be shipped; that no live stock (neces-

sary sea-stores, at the discretion of the Committee of Safety, and horses excepted) be exported, or water-borne, except in bays, rivers and sounds.—2d. Some accounts allowed. The Committee for fitting out armed vessels authorized to draw for money, agree with officers, etc.; one-third of all transports to be given the men who take them, and one-half of all vessels of war. Petition from Passamaquoddy referred to a Committee. The Delegates [are] to transmit [to] their Colonies the resolutions relative to trade. Memorial of [the] Committee [of] Safety of Pennsylvania ordered to lie [on the table]. Report of Mr. Bedford, Muster-master. A petition from J. Rains of Bermuda read, ordered to lie [on the table] upon reading. Letters from Generals Schuyler, Montgomery and Mr. Livingston. A Committee of three appointed to repair to General Schuyler, etc. A Committee appointed to draw up instructions for them. Three thousand felt hats, stockings, etc., ordered to be purchased and sent to General Schuyler, and sold to the soldiers at prime cost, etc. A Committee to purchase them, Mr. Alsop, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Sherman.—Business increased so fast, [I] could not go on with the minutes.—February 8th. Drew an order on Mr. Heffner for one quarter cask of powder.—14th. Drew an order on the Treasury for 266 $\frac{2}{3}$, to the Waggon Master, on Mr. Matlack for ten tons, saltpetre.—15th. Drew an order in favor of the Delegates of New Jersey for $\frac{1}{2}$ ton [of] powder. One ton for New York on Tuesday before.—16th. Drew on the Treasury for six hundred dollars in favour of Mr. Irwin.—19th. Drew an order in favour of Alsop, etc.,

for 200,000 dollars, and agreed to give Pennsylvania [currency?] as wanted,—21st. Gave an order for eight tons [of] powder to go to Canada. Directions to the guard, request to the Committee of Safety to take order for furnishing wagons. Letter to Committee [of] Inspection relative to Arms: 1st. 1000 barrels [of] gunpowder. In default of getting the whole, as much saltpetre with a proportionate quantity as may make up. 2000 stand [s of] arms, 5000 double bridled gunlocks, 12 brass field pieces, 6 pounders. 2d. 50 Tons of powder, 12 brass 6-pounders, 1000 stands of arms, 2000 double bridled gunlocks.*

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL OF THE CONGRESS.—Monday, November 6, 1775. "Resolved, That a Committee of five be appointed to take into consideration the sundry letters lately received from the Convention of New York, and the state of that Colony, and report what in their opinion is necessary to be done." The members chosen: Mr. R. Livingston, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Allen and Mr. Ward.

Wednesday, November 8, 1775. "Resolved, That a Committee of three be appointed to confer with Mr. Kirkland." The members chosen: Mr. Cushing, Mr. Wythe and Mr. Ward.

Thursday, November 16, 1775. Sundry papers from the General Assembly of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay being laid before Congress and read, Resolved, That these be referred to a Committee of seven. The members chosen: Mr. Johnson, Mr. Sherman, Mr. W. Livingston, Mr. Ward, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Hooper and Mr. Harrison.

Tuesday, November 21, 1775. The

Congress then resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into consideration the petitions from Burmuda to them referred; and after some time spent therein, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported that the Committee had taken into consideration the petitions to them referred, and had come to certain resolutions thereon, which he read in his place, and then delivered in.

Friday, December 8, 1775. Resolved, That a standing Committee, composed of a member from each Colony, be appointed to receive the applications and examine into the qualifications of the several persons who apply for offices in the American army, and report to Congress. The members are: Mr. Bartlett, Mr. S. Adams, Mr. Ward, Mr. Dyer, Mr. Jay, Mr. W. Livingston, Mr. Allen, Mr. Rodney, Mr. F. L. Lee, Mr. Penn and Mr. Lynch.

Monday, December 11, 1775. Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress took into consideration the instructions given to the Delegates of Rhode Island [in favor of building a fleet, etc.,] and after debate thereon, Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to devise ways and means for furnishing these Colonies with a naval armament, and report with all convenient speed.

Friday, December 22, 1775. Agreeable to the order of the day the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into farther consideration the report of the Committee of Conference relative to an attack on Boston, and after some time spent thereon, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported that the Committee had taken into consideration

the matter referred to them, and had come to a resolution thereon, which he was ready to report. The report of the Committee, being read, was agreed to as follows: Resolved, That if General Washington and his Council of War should be of opinion that a successful attack may be made on the troops in Boston, he do it in any manner he may think expedient, notwithstanding the town and property in it may thereby be destroyed.

Friday, December 29, 1775. Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into consideration the trade of the United Colonies, and after some time spent thereon, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported that the Committee had taken into consideration the matter to them referred, and had come to certain resolutions which he was ready to report.—The report of the Committee being read, the Congress took the same into consideration.

Monday, January 15, 1776. Resolved, That the letters from Lord Stirling be referred to a committee of five.—The members chosen, Mr. W. Livingston, Mr. McKee, Mr. Floyd, Mr. Ward and Mr. Alexander. * * * The Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into consideration the state of the trade of the United Colonies; and after some time, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported, that the Committee had taken into their farther consideration the matter to them referred, but that not having come to a conclusion, they desired him to move for leave to sit again.

Wednesday, January 17, 1776. Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into consideration the propriety of opening the ports after the first of March next; and after some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported, that the Committee had taken into consideration the matter to them referred; and had come to a resolution, which he read in his place, and delivered in. The report being again read, Ordered, To lie on the table.

Thursday, January 18, 1776. Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to take into consideration the letter from General Schuyler, of the 13th of January, with the enclosures, and report thereon to Congress. The members chosen, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Wythe, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Ward and Mr. S. Adams.

Wednesday, January 24, 1776. The Secretary laid before Congress an account of the repulse our troops met with in their attempt on Quebec, the 31st of December; which was read. Ordered, That the same be published. Resolved, That a committee of seven be appointed to consider the propriety of establishing a war office, and the powers with which the said office should be vested.—The members chosen, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Franklin, Mr. E. Rutledge, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Ward, Mr. S. Adams and Mr. Morris.

Thursday, January 25, 1776. Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to take the examination of Brigadier-General Prescott and Captain Chase, who are arrived at Philadelphia, and report to Congress: The members chosen, Mr. Adams, Mr. Ward and Mr. Sherman.

* * * The committee appointed to

take the examination of General Prescott and Captain Chase, made report of their proceedings: Resolved, That the said committee be directed to make farther inquiry into the character and conduct of General Prescott, and inspect the letters of General Schuyler and General Montgomery concerning him.

Friday, January 26, 1776. Resolved. That a committee of three be appointed to consider what allowance ought to be made for paying the troops raised in New Jersey and Pennsylvania; The members chosen, Mr. Ward, Mr. Harrison and Mr. Allen.

Saturday, January 27, 1776. A letter from General Washington, dated the 19th of January; one from the Committee at Trenton, dated the 24th, one from Lord Stirling, dated the 25th, and one from T. Lowry, dated the 24th of the same month, were read: Resolved, That the same be referred to Mr. Wythe, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Ward and Mr. S. Adams.

* * * A memorial from H. Keppele and John Steinmetz was presented to Congress and read: Resolved, That the same be referred to a Committee of three: The members chosen, Mr. Ward, Mr. Alexander and Mr. Wythe.

Monday, January 29, 1776. The committee to whom were referred the letter from General Washington, dated the 19th instant, with the papers therein mentioned, and the letter from Lord Stirling dated the 24th, and the letter from the Committee at Trenton, dated the day last mentioned, brought in their report; Resolved, That the applications made by General Washington to the governments of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut, in such an ex-

igency, to raise a regiment in each of those Colonies for the service of Canada, were prudent, consistent with his duty, and a farther manifestation of his commendable zeal for the good of his country, etc., etc., * * * That the three regiments to be raised in New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut, for the service in Canada, be exclusive of the thirteen intended to reinforce the army at Cambridge, etc. * * * The Committee desired leave to sit again, which was granted.

Tuesday, January 30, 1776. Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to take into consideration an application for the Committee of Safety for New York. The members chosen, Mr. Ward, Mr. Paine, Mr. Paca, Mr. Lee and Mr. Rodney.

Tuesday, February 6, 1776. Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to bring in a resolution respecting the exportation of naval stores for the public service: The members chosen, Mr. Hewes, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Ward, Mr. Paine and Mr. S. Adams.

Wednesday, February 14, 1776. The Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into consideration the report of the Committee on the Regulations and Restrictions under which the ports should be opened after the first day of March next; and after some time spent thereon, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported, that the committee had taken into consideration the matter referred to them, but not having come to a conclusion, desired leave to sit again.

Friday, February 16, 1776. Resolved, That the Secret Committee (of which Governor Ward was Chairman,) be di-

rected to furnish Colonel St. Clair's Battalion with arms, and that the President write to Colonel St. Clair, and direct him to use the utmost diligence in getting his battalion ready, and to march the companies, one at a time, as fast as they can be got ready, to Canada, with all possible expedition. * * * Agreeable to the Order of the Day, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole * * * Mr. Ward reported.

Thursday, February 22d, 1776. The Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole to take into consideration the letters just received from General Washington. * * * Mr. Ward reported. * * * Resolved, That the secret Committee be empowered for the purpose of procuring arms and ammunition, to export the produce of these Colonies, equal to the amount of that by them exported in two vessels lately taken by the enemy.

Thursday, February 29, 1776. Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into consideration the letter from General Washington of the 9th instant, and the trade of the Colonies after the 1st of March; and after some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported.

Friday, March 8, 1776. A letter from Colonel Hazen of the 18th of February last, inclosing an account and estimates of the losses he has sustained, was received and read: Resolved, That the same be referred to Mr. Wythe, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Ward and Mr. S. Adams, who are directed to examine the said account, and report upon the several articles.

Wednesday, March 13, 1776. Resolved, That a Committee of seven be

appointed to enquire and report the best ways and means of raising the necessary supplies to defray the expenses of the war for the present year, over and above the emission of bills of credit. The members chosen: Mr. Johnson, Mr. Duane, Mr. Hewes, Mr. Gerry, Mr. R. Morris, Mr. Ward and Mr. Wythe. * * * The Congress then resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole. * * * After some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported, that the Committee have had under consideration the matters referred to them, but not having come to any resolution, desired him to move for leave to sit again.

Tuesday, March 26, 1776. The Congress being informed that Mr. Ward, one of the Delegates of Rhode Island, died yesterday, Resolved, That Mr. Hopkins, Mr. S. Adams and Mr. Wolcott be a Committee to superintend the funeral, and that they be directed to apply to the Rev. Mr. Stillman, and request him to preach a funeral sermon on the occasion. That the said Committee be directed to invite the Assembly and Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, and other public bodies in Philadelphia, to attend the funeral.

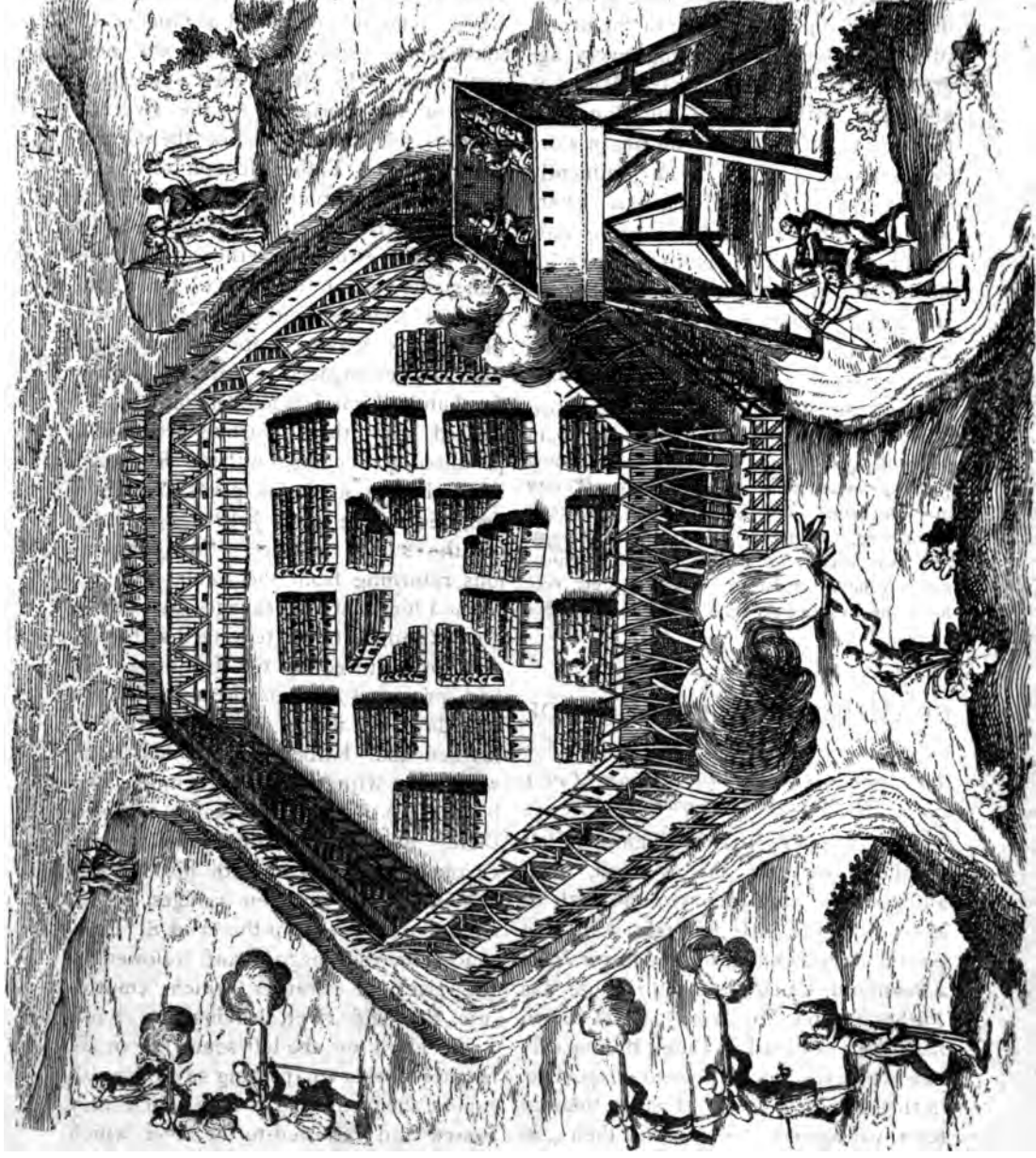
SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.—Governor Ward's health was so much affected by his arduous labors in his country's service that he succumbed to an attack of smallpox, and died in Philadelphia, March 26, 1776. His physician, Dr. Young, writing the same day to his brother Henry Ward, Secretary of Rhode Island, says: "It is with the most heart-felt grief, with the deepest affliction and pungent regret, that I inform you the patriotic Samuel Ward, Esq., left his

anxious, his numerous friends in this city to bewail their loss of one of the most able, consistent and determined defenders of American liberty in his person, who departed life at 2 A. M. this morning of that tremendous disease, the smallpox, taken in the natural way. * * *

So full, so firm, so capable, so industrious was Mr. Ward that his loss will be severely felt in the Congress. One, at least, of the mighty advocates for American Independency is fallen in Mr. Ward, to the great grief of the proto-patriot Adams." John Adams mentions Governor Ward's death in a letter as follows: "We have this week lost a very valuable friend of the Colonies, in Governor Ward of Rhode Island, by the smallpox in the natural way. * * * He was an amiable and a sensible man, a steadfast friend to his country, upon very pure principles. His funeral was attended with the same solemnities as Mr. Randolph's; Mr. Stillman, being the Anabaptist minister here, of which persuasion was the Governor, was desired by Congress to preach a sermon, which he did with great applause."

Governor Ward's remains were interred in the First Baptist Church, and a marble monument was erected over the spot by an Act of the General Assembly of Rhode Island, passed the following May. The inscription was written by the celebrated John Jay. In 1860 Governor Ward's remains were removed to the family plot in the cemetery at Newport, Rhode Island, where they repose beneath the original monument. Rhode Island may well be proud of his memory, for such a high minded Christian patriot adds lustre to the annals of his country.

THE IROQUOIS FORT FROM THE EDITION OF CHAMPLAIN'S VOYAGES 1632



His extraordinary grasp of mind is evinced in his remarkable letters, which display his deep conviction of the necessity of strenuously opposing every aggressive measure of the British Ministry, and glow with eloquent and luminous predictions of the great future in store for America. He was an eminently courageous, self-sacrificing statesman, who felt that he could not spare time from his arduous labors to preserve his health, and thus fell a victim to his untiring and profound love for his native land.

JOHN WARD.

* Governor Ward in the month of October writes to his family: "I am almost worn out with attention [to business.] I am upon a standing committee of claims, which meets every morning before Congress, and upon the secret Committee which meets almost every afternoon; and these, with a close attendance upon Congress, and writing many letters, make my duty very hard, and I cannot get time to ride or take other exercise."

CHAMPLAIN'S EXPEDITION OF 1615

*Translated from the Text of the Edition of 1619,
for the Magazine of American History.*

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—Champlain left Honfleur the 24th day of April, 1614, and arrived at Tadoussac the 25th of May following. He brought with him several Fathers who proposed to establish a mission in Canada. One of those was Father Joseph (Le Caron). His return had been anxiously awaited by the savages about the new settlement of Quebec, in the hope that he would assist them in their war against the Iroquois, their ancient enemies. Father Joseph at once

went to meet them at the Grand Sault Saint Louis, which was their rendezvous, while Champlain remained at Quebec to make some arrangements for the new settlement. He left Quebec a few days later on his journey. At the river of Prairies, five leagues below the Grand Sault, he met Father Joseph returning to Quebec to procure some church insignia. Arrived at the Grand Sault (Laverdière estimates on the 19th or 20th June) he visited the savages by whom he was received with great glee, and plans were arranged for a campaign. The savages engaged to furnish twenty-five hundred warriors and Champlain, delighted with their warlike resolution, promised to accompany them. Returned to Quebec he made his plans and again departed on the 4th of July to join them. On the 8th he met one of his companions returning from the Sault, who informed him that the savages had left in great disappointment fearing that he was dead or captured by the Iroquois. He had promised to join them in four or five days and it was now ten. He also learned that Father Joseph had gone with them with twelve Frenchmen who had been hired to the savages to assist them. The 9th of the same month Champlain embarked with his servant, one interpreter and ten savages in two canoes. He went up the river St. Lawrence some six leagues and followed up the river of Prairies which empties into the said river, leaving the Sault Saint Louis on the left some five or six leagues further up, passing several small rapids, then entering a lake which they passed and returned to the river which leads to the Algommequins, a distance of

eighty-nine leagues from the Sault Saint Louis. Continuing his journey to the lake of the Algommequins he entered a river which descends into that lake, which he went up some thirty-five leagues, passing numerous rapids, some by water others by portages. Here he found a rough country inhabited by a tribe of the Algommequins, called Otaguottonemin, who lived by hunting and fishing. Leaving this river which flows from the north and is that by which the savages go to the Sacquenay to trade off peltry for tobacco (*petun*), [this spot he describes as in 46 degrees latitude] he continued his voyage by land; leaving the river of the Algommequins he passed by several lakes where the savages carried their canoes to the lakes of the Nipisierinij, which is at 46½ degrees latitude. The 26th of the same month, after a journey, by land and water through the lakes, of about twenty-five leagues, he arrived at the huts of the savages where he was warmly received and remained two days. These savages were about seven or eight hundred in number, and lived upon the lake which is full of pleasant islands, one of which more than six leagues long. The lake itself is eight leagues wide and twenty-five long, into which falls a river coming from the northwest which they go up to barter the goods they receive from the French for skins.

After spending two days with the chief of the Nipisierinij Champlain reembarked and entered a river which is the outlet of the lake, by which he journeyed some thirty-five leagues, passing in his descent several small rapids, until he reached the lake of the Attigouautan. The country he found even poorer than

that which he had passed, although some Indian corn was found near the border of the lake. Here he met three hundred men of a nation which he called *les cheveux relevés* from their manner of wearing their hair. After a day's sojourn with this tribe he pursued his route along the border of the lake of the Attigouautan for a distance of about forty-five leagues. This lake he describes as very large, nearly four hundred leagues in length from East to West, and fifty leagues wide. On account of its great extent he named it *La Mer Douce*. He speaks of the enormous trout in which it abounded, some five feet and a half in length, and the smallest two feet and a half, as also of pike, equally large, and of a certain kind of sturgeon. After crossing a bay which makes one of the extremities of the lake, he journeyed some seven leagues until on the 1st day of August he reached the country of the Attigouautan, at a village called Otoüacha. Here he found a beautiful country, and it would appear made the village his headquarters. The next day he visited another village called Carmaron, a league distant, where the chief treated him with cordiality and urged him to remain with him, but Champlain preferred to return to what he for the first time calls *notre village*, which can mean no other than that of Otoüacha. The next day he visited a village called Tona-guainchain, and still another called Te-guenonquiaye, where he was also received with hospitality and fed upon Indian corn. Thence he was guided to Carhagouha, a village enclosed in a triple wooden palisade thirty-five feet high for defence. In this village lived

Father Joseph, who was delighted to see him, and on the 12th of August celebrated high mass and planted a cross near to a little frame house, which was built for him by Champlain while waiting the completion of preparations for the campaign against the Iroquois. Seeing that these would occupy some time Champlain determined to explore the country, and traveled slowly from village to village to Cahigué, which was to be the rendezvous for the whole army, distant from Carhagouha about fourteen leagues. He left this latter place on the 14th August with ten of his companions, and passing by five of the principal villages, all enclosed in wooden palisades (the border defence against the Iroquois), he arrived at Cahigué, the principal village of the country, which he found to be composed of two hundred huts of considerable size. Everywhere he was well received and hospitably entertained:

EDITOR.

CHAMPLAIN'S NARRATIVE.—The seventeenth day of August I arrived at Cahigué,¹ where I was received with great joy and satisfaction by all the savages of the country, who had abandoned their projects, thinking to see me no more, and that the Iroquois had captured me as I have before said, which was the cause of the great delay which took place in this expedition, so much that they had even postponed it to some later year. While thus debating they received news that a certain nation of their allies who dwell three days journey higher up than the Entouhonorons, against whom the Iroquois also make war, which allies

were anxious to assist in this expedition with five hundred good men, and enter into alliance and swear friendship with us, being equally desirous of seeing us and that we should all make war together. They showed their great satisfaction in our acquaintance, and I also in this opportunity, because of my desire to know something of that country, which is only seven days' journey distant, whence the Flamens go on trading expeditions up to the fortieth degree, the which savages (Iroquois), aided by the Flamens, make war upon them and capture them and put them cruelly to death, as in fact that last year while in war they had three of the said Flamens, who were assisting them as we were the Attigouautans, and in the combat one of their people was killed. Nevertheless they did not hesitate to send back the three Flamens whom they had made prisoners without doing them any harm, believing that they were of our people, although they never had any knowledge of us except by hearsay, never having seen any Christians, for otherwise these three prisoners would not have gotten off so cheaply, nor would they now should they catch and take them. This nation is very warlike, which is of great consequence to the nation of the Attigouotans, who have only three villages in the midst of more than twenty others against whom they are at war, and with no possibility of succor from their friends, since they must either pass by the country of the Chouontouarouon, which is thickly inhabited, or they must make a great detour of country.

When I arrived at this village it suited me to remain there while the warriors

armed from the neighboring villages, so as to be ready to move as early as possible, during which time there was continual feasting and dancing because of the delight they felt to see us so determined to assist them in their war and of their assurance of victory.

The greater part of our people being assembled, we left the village the first day of September and passed by the border of a small lake, distant from the said village about three leagues, where they take abundance of fish, which they preserve for the winter. There is another lake adjoining this which is twenty-six leagues in circuit, pouring into the smaller in one place where the greater quantity of the said fish are taken by means of a number of palisades which nearly close the straight, some small openings only being left where they place their nets and the fish are taken; There two lakes empty into the Mer Douce (Sweet Sea). We sojourned a short time in this place awaiting the rest of our savages; when all were assembled with their arms, corn and other things necessary, they resolved to choose the most resolute men they had in their band to carry notice of our departure to those tribes who were to assist us with their five hundred men and to invite them to come to join us, so that we should reach the enemies' fort at the same time. This resolution taken, they dispatched two canoes with twelve of the most hardy savages, and at the same time one of our interpreters who begged permission of me to accompany them, which I gladly granted him, since it was his own wish, and he could in this manner see their country and become acquainted with the

people who inhabit it. The danger was by no means small since they must of necessity pass through the midst of the enemy. They left the eighth of the said month and the tenth following there was a heavy white frost. We continued our course toward the enemy, and made some five to six leagues in these lakes; thence the savages carried their canoes about ten leagues overland, and we came upon another lake, in extent six to seven leagues long and three wide. From this flows a river which discharges itself into the grand lake of the Entouhonorons, and having crossed this lake we passed a rapid which continues the course of the said river, always downwards about sixty-four leagues and which is the opening of the said lake of the Entouhonorons; and as we journeyed we passed five rapids by land, some from four to five leagues long and we passed through several lakes which are of considerable extent, and the said river which passes among them abounds in excellent fish, and certain it is that all this country is very beautiful and agreeable. Along the shore it seems as though the trees had been purposely planted in most places, and also that all this country has been inhabited in times past by savages who have been compelled to abandon it through fear of their enemies. There are vines and chestnut trees in great quantity; the grapes reach maturity, but there always remains a quite sharp bitter taste in the throat after eating any quantity—which arises from their not having been cultivated; even the barren country here is quite pleasant. Hunting of deer and bear is abundant here, and to test it we hunted ourselves and took a consider-

able number during our descent; to do this four or five hundred of the savages stretched themselves out in a line in the woods, until they reach certain points which extend into the river and then marching in order with bows and arrows in their hands, shouting and making a great noise to frighten the beasts, they keep on until they come to the end of the point. Then all the animals who find themselves between the point and the hunters are compelled to take to the water or else are slaughtered by the arrows of the savages; nevertheless those of the savages who are in the canoes expressly posted near the edge of the bank, approach without difficulty the deer and other animals pursued, which are disturbed and greatly frightened, when the hunters kill them easily with sword blades inserted in a handle of wood after the fashion of a half-pike; and thus they hunt and do likewise in the islands where there is abundance of game. I took a singular pleasure in watching them hunt, remarking their industry. Many were killed by shots from the arquebuses by which they were greatly surprised: But an accident happened; a deer being fired upon, unfortunately a savage was in the way and was wounded by a shot from an arquebuse unintentionally, as may be supposed, which caused a great excitement among them, which was nevertheless appeased by some gifts to the wounded man, which is the usual manner of appeasing them and settling their quarrels, and should the wounded man die the presents and gifts are made to the relatives of him that is killed. As for the game it is in great abundance in its season. There are also quantities of

cranes white as swans and other varieties of birds similar to those of France.

We went by short days' journey as far as the border of the Lake of the Entouhonorons, always hunting as hereinbefore described, and arrived there, we crossed it at one of its ends, going in an easterly direction, this being the beginning of the great River St. Lawrence, at a height of forty-three degrees of latitude, there being fine and quite extensive islands in this passage. We made about fourteen leagues to cross to the other side of the lake, going in a southerly direction towards the land of the enemy. The savages hid all their canoes in the wood near the bank. We went by land about four leagues over a sandy beach, where I observed a very pretty and inviting country, traversed by numerous small brooks and by two small streams, which empty into the said lake, and many pools and meadows where there was an infinite quantity of game and abundant vines and pine wood, and a great number of chestnut trees, the fruit of which was still in its shell. The chestnuts are small but of an agreeable flavor. The country is covered with forests, without any barren country for the greater part of this piece of land. All the canoes being thus hidden, we left the shore of the lake, which is about twenty-four leagues long and twenty-five wide. The greater part of it is inhabited on the sides of its banks by savages, and we continued our journey by land about twenty-five to thirty leagues. During four days we crossed a number of brooks and a river which flows from a lake which empties itself into that of the Entouhonorons. This lake is twenty-five or thirty leagues in

circuit, has numerous islands on it, and is the place where the enemy, the Iroquois, take their fish, which are in abundance.

The ninth of the month of October our savages, while upon a scout, came upon eleven savages whom they took prisoners—that is to say, four women, three boys, one girl and three men—who were going to fish at a distance of about four leagues from the enemy's fort. Now it must be stated that one of the chiefs, seeing these prisoners, cut off the finger of one of these poor women as a beginning of their usual torture, whereupon I interfered and reproached Captain Yroquet, explaining to him that it was not becoming in a warrior, as he called himself, to behave cruelly to women, who have no other defense than their tears, and who on account of their silliness and weakness should be treated with humanity; but, on the contrary, that this act would be said to come of a vile and brutal heart, and that if he committed any more such cruelty as this that I should no longer feel the heart to aid or favor him in their war. To which he only answered that their enemies treated them in the same manner, but since his manner of proceeding displeased me he would no longer injure the women, but only the men, since the contrary way was not agreeable to us.

The next day about three o'clock in the afternoon we arrived before the fort of the enemy where the savages skirmished somewhat with each other.³ Although our intention was not to discover ourselves until the next day, yet the impatience of our savages would not allow of it, partly from the desire they had

to draw upon their enemies and partly to rescue some of their own people who had gone too far and were closely pursued. Thereupon I advanced and took part in the action with the few men that I had; nevertheless we showed them that which they had never seen nor heard. For as soon as they saw us and heard the shots of the arquebuses and balls whistling about their ears they retreated rapidly to their fort, carrying off their dead and wounded in this charge, and we also fell back upon our main body, with five or six of our people wounded, one of whom died.

This done we withdrew to the distance of a cannon shot out of sight of the enemy, notwithstanding my advice and the promise they had made me, which moved me to speak to them and use hard and disagreeable words in order to incite them to their duty, foreseeing that if they acted according to their fancy and by their own judgment nothing could result from it but ill to their loss and ruin; nevertheless I did not weary of sending to them and preparing the means they should adopt to have their enemy in their power, which was to make of a certain kind of wood a platform which should overlook the palisades, on which four or five of our arquebusiers should be placed who would fire constantly over their palisades and galleries, which were well supplied with stones, and in this manner dislodge the enemy, who incommoded us from above their galleries, and at the same time we should prepare planks to make a kind of mantlet to cover and protect our people from the arrows and stones which they generally use. These things, that is to say, the said platform

and the mantlets could be carried by hand and by a number of men, and there was one made in such a manner that the water could not put out the fire, which we would apply to the front of the fort, and meanwhile those who would be on the platform would do their duty with some arquebusiers who would be posted on it, and in this manner we could so defend ourselves that they could not approach to put out the fire we should set to their enclosure. This they found excellent and timely, and they set men to work at once following my advice, and in fact the next morning they had set about it, some cutting the wood the others gathering it up to build and prepare the aforesaid platform and mantlets, which was promptly done, and in less than four hours, except the wood, of which they gathered entirely too little to put before the palisades to set fire to them. They were in hopes that the same day the five hundred men promised would come, of which they, nevertheless, had doubts, because they had not appeared at the rendezvous, as they had been charged to do and as they had agreed, the which greatly disturbed our savages. But seeing that they were strong enough in numbers to take the fort without other assistance, and judging for my part that delay is always injurious in all affairs, at least in many things, I urged them to attack the said fort, observing to them that the enemy was acquainted with their strength and with our fire arms, which pierced that which was proof against arms, and would begin to barricade and to cover themselves with stout pieces of wood with which they were well supplied and their village

full, and that the least delay the better; and indeed they did protect themselves very well, for their village was enclosed by four strong palisades of heavy pieces of wood interlaced the one with the other, between any two of which there was not more than a half foot of opening, thirty feet high, and the galleries which were in the form of a parapet they had strengthened with double thicknesses of wood, proof against the shot of our arquebuses, and as they were also so near a pond that they would never lack for water, and with a number of gutters which they had arranged with a space between, which threw water outside, and they also kept water under cover inside to extinguish the fire. This, in a word, is the manner which they adopted with all their fortifications and defences, which are usually stronger than the villages of the Attigouauton and others.

We drew near to attack this village, our platform being carried by two hundred of the strongest men who placed it before the village at the length of a pike's distance, where I mounted upon it three arquebuses, well sheltered from the arrows and stones which might be drawn or thrown upon it. Notwithstanding which the enemy did not fail to shoot a great number of arrows which did not miss and to throw a great quantity of stones from behind their palisades. Nevertheless, the infinite number of shots from the arquebuses compelled them to dislodge and to abandon their galleries by reason and favor of the platform to which they were exposed and they did not dare to come out from their cover nor to show themselves, but fought under cover. But when the platform was

brought up instead of bringing the mantlets in good order and that upon which we were to put the fire, the men abandoned it and began to shout to their enemies, shooting their arrows into the fort, but in my opinion without much havoc to the enemy. But they must be excused as they are not men of war and moreover they will endure no discipline or punishment and will only do what they choose. This is why one of them inconsiderately set fire to the wood close to the fort of the enemy and wholly on the wrong side and against the wind, so that it was of no effect.

The fire over, the greater part of the savages began to pile up wood against the palisades, but in small quantity, for which reason the fire being ill supplied with wood could not do much damage; moreover such a turmoil arose among these people that we could not be heard; this afflicted me sorely; I shouted my best in their ears and showed them as far as I was able the danger to which their stupidity exposed them, but they could hear nothing for the great noise they made, and seeing that it was useless for me to crack my throat with shouting to them, and that my remonstrances were vain and unable to remedy this disorder or to do any thing further, I resolved to do what I could with my own men and to shoot all those whom we could discover and perceive. However, the enemy took advantage of our disorder; they went to the water and threw such quantities of it that you would have said that streams were falling from their gutters, in such fashion that in less than no time they entirely extinguished the fire, while at the same time they never

ceased shooting their arrows which fell upon us like hail; those who were on the platform killed and wounded many. We were engaged in this fight about three hours, two of our chiefs and those the most important wounded, namely one called Ochateguain, the other Orani, and also fifteen privates wounded. The others by their side seeing their men and some of their chiefs wounded, began to talk of retreating without fighting longer, waiting for the five hundred men whose arrival could not be much longer delayed and thus withdrew, nothing but disorder resulting from this folly. Moreover the chiefs have no absolute authority over their companions who do as they choose, according to their own caprices, which is the cause of their disorder and which ruins all their undertakings. For when anything is resolved upon by the leading men, any common or worthless fellow may set aside this resolution and make a new plan if the fancy strikes him. Thus the one does nothing to assist the other as may be seen by this expedition.

But we withdrew to our main body, I wounded by two arrow shots, one in the leg and the other in the knee, which caused great annoyance as well as great and excessive pains. And being all collected together, I remonstrated with them upon the disorder which had taken place, but all my words were of no more avail than though I had said nothing and did not move them in the least; they saying that many of their people had been wounded as well as myself, which would give great fatigue and inconvenience to the others, who would have to carry them on the retreat, and that it was impossible to return to the enemy al-

though they would still wait four days for the five hundred men who were expected, and when they came they would make a second attack upon their enemies and would more faithfully obey my orders than they had done before. I was compelled to accede, to my great regret. On the opposite page (44), is a representation of the manner in which they fortify their villages, and by this drawing it may be understood and seen that those of our friends and enemies are fortified alike.

The next day, a very high wind sprung up which lasted two days, and was quite favorable for setting fire anew to the fort of the enemy; to which I urged them strongly, but they were unwilling to do anything more, fearing to get the worse of the affair and moreover remembering their wounded.

We were encamped until the 16th of the said month, during which time there was some skirmishing between the enemy and our people, who were generally enveloped by the enemy more from their imprudence than any want of courage, assuring us that we must go after them every time that they went to the charge so as to extricate them from the crowd, as they could only withdraw under the cover of our arquebuses, which the enemy greatly dreaded and feared. For as soon as they perceived one of our arquebuses they promptly retreated, crying out to us in a persuasive manner that we should not take part in their combats and that their enemies showed very little courage in asking us to assist them, with many other arguments of the same nature to move our hearts. I have represented the manner in which they arm themselves when they go to war on page 23, figure E.

Some days passing and seeing that the five hundred men did not arrive, they determined to depart and retreat as rapidly as possible, and began to make baskets to carry off the wounded, who are put in them piled up in a heap, twisted and tied in such a manner that it is impossible to make any more motion than a baby in its swaddling clothes, and not without causing great and severe pain to the wounded. I can say it with entire truth as far as I was concerned, as I was carried several days, being unable to stand up, principally because of an arrow wound in the knee, for never was I in such a hell as during this time, for the pain which I suffered from the wound in my knee was nothing to that which I endured tied and garotted on the back of one of our savages, which exhausted my patience, so that as soon as I had the strength to stand up I got out of this prison, or rather hell.

The enemy pursued us about half a league, but at a considerable distance, trying to cut off some of the rear guard, but their trouble proved fruitless and they withdrew.

Now all that struck me favorably in their manner of warfare was that they retreat with great prudence, placing all their wounded and old in their centre, they being in front, on the wings, and in their rear guard, well armed, and so arranged until they are in a place of safety, nothing breaking their order.

This retreat was quite long, something like twenty-five to thirty leagues, which caused great fatigue to the wounded and to those who carried them, although they were occasionally relieved.

The eighteenth day of the said month

there was a heavy fall of snow and hail, with a high wind, which gave us great discomfort. Nevertheless we did so well that we reached the border of the Lake of the Entonhorons at the spot where our canoes were hidden, which we found in good order, for we feared that the enemy might have broken them up, and being all assembled, and seeing that they were anxious to return to their village, I prayed them to escort me to our habitation, which at first they did not seem inclined to grant, but at last they consented and called for four men to guide me, which being done, the four men freely volunteered; for, as I have stated before, the chiefs have no authority over their companions, for which reason they often cannot do what they wish. These men being found, it became necessary to find a canoe, which could not be procured, each one having need of his own and there being no more than they needed. This was not a subject of contentment to me, but on the contrary greatly disturbed me, causing me to fear their ill will, as they had promised to carry me back and guide me to our habitation after the war, besides which I was little fitted to winter with them, for otherwise I should have cared nothing about it, but being powerless I was forced to submit patiently. But a few days later I discovered that they designed to detain me and my companions in their country, partly for their own safety—being in fear of their enemies—partly that I should hear what should be agreed upon in their councils and meetings, and also to decide upon what course it was best to pursue in the future towards their enemies for their safety and preservation.

The next day, the twenty-eighth day of the said month, preparations were made on all sides, some to hunt the deer or the beaver, others to fish, others to return to their villages, and for my accommodation and lodging one of the principal chiefs, named Durantal, with whom I was on good terms, offered me his cabin, provisions and stores, and he also joined in the hunt of the deer, which is held to be the noblest of game and is the most abundant; and after crossing the end of the lake of the said island we entered a river some twelve leagues long. Then they carried their canoes overland about half a league, when we entered a lake measuring ten to twelve leagues around, in which there was an abundance of game, such as swans, white herons, ducks (*houstardes*), teal, thrush, larks, snipe, geese and many other kinds of wild fowl too numerous to mention, a great quantity of which I killed, which was very fortunate for us while waiting the taking of a deer; from here we went to a certain place some ten leagues distant, where our savages supposed that there were deer in plenty. There some twenty-five savages joined together to put up two or three log huts, arranged close together, and caulked them with moss to keep out the wind, and covered them with the bark of trees. This accomplished, they went into the woods. [Here follows a description of the hunt, which was continued until the frosts, when traveling was easier as the ground was marshy.] On the fourth day of December we left this place, travelling on the river which was frozen, and on the frozen lakes and ponds, sometimes journeying through the woods for a period of nineteen days,

which was not without exertion and fatigue to the savages, who carried a hundred pounds burthen, as well as to myself carrying twenty pounds, which after a little time was very troublesome. It is quite true that at times I was relieved by the savages, but notwithstanding I still felt the fatigue. As for them, the more easily to cross the ice, they are in the habit of making a kind of wooden sleigh on which they load their burthens and drag them after them with great ease, traveling swiftly, but a few days later there came a thaw which gave us great annoyance and discomfort, for we had to pass through pine woods full of streams, ponds, marshes, and thick with fallen timber, which caused us endless trouble and embarrassments and great personal suffering, as we were always wet above our knees. We were four days in this condition, for the reason that in a great part of the country the ice could not bear us. We finally reached our village the twentieth day of the said month,² when Captain Yroquet came to winter with his companions, who are Algommequins, and his son, whom he brought with him to be cared for; he had been badly injured, while hunting, by a bear which he was trying to kill.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.—After some days repose at "notre village" (Otatatcha) Champlain left on the 14th January to pay a visit to Father Joseph, whom he found the next day in the little frame house which he had built for him. On the 15th February they visited the nation of Petun.

EDITOR.

¹ Cahigué is evidently the Huron name of St. Jean Baptiste, the principal town of the Aren-darons, or tribe of the Rock.

² Laverdière says that, to judge by the travel already made by the troops, that is twenty-five or thirty leagues, as estimated by Champlain and by the indications of the map of 1632, the fort was a short distance from the foot of Lake Canondaguen, or Canandagua, etc., toward the south of Lake Honeoye, in the County of Ontario.

³ Laverdière here notes that the arrival at Cahigué was on the 23d December, as stated in the text of 1632. Champlain left the 4th, and was nineteen days on the journey. Laverdière remarks that Champlain left Cahigué to visit Father Joseph at Carhagouha the 4th, not the 2d January.

NOTES

THE IROQUOIS FORT.—The site of the Fort attacked by Champlain with his Indian allies in his third expedition against the Iroquois (1615) is still a matter of uncertainty. The text of Champlain, in its editions of 1619 and 1632, has not yet been translated in full. The authenticity of the map inserted in the edition of 1632 has been questioned. In it the fort appears as a round palisaded position, which is described in the explanation as a "village enclosed within four palisades, where the Sieur de Champlain was during the war upon the Antouhonorons." A drawing of the fort and of Champlain's attack upon it appears in the editions of 1619 and 1632.

Where was this fort? Marshall, in his last paper on this subject (in our January number, I. 13), questions the authenticity of the map annexed to the edition of 1632, adheres to his previously stated opinion, and says that "there is no site more probable, nor one which corresponds in more particulars to Champlain's description than the banks of the Onondaga Lake." Brodhead (I. 69)

says that the attack was made upon the fortified village of the Iroquois on the *northern* bank of the Onondaga Lake, near the site of the present town of Liverpool." Clark, in his History of Onondaga (II. 256), assumes that "it is satisfactorily shown that this Iroquois fort was on the shore of Onondaga Lake." Geddes, in this number of the Magazine, inclines to the opinion that it was on the site of what is now Fort Saint Mary's. So much for the Onondaga Lake and Creek.

O'Callahan, in a foot note to his translation of Champlain's expeditions into Northern and Western New York (Doc. Hist., III, 16), gives a different site. He states that the engagement "seems to have been fought in the neighborhood of Lake Canandaigua." Parkman does not express a definite opinion. (Pioneers of France in the New World, p. 372.) He says that the village was "a town of the Senecas," mentions the opinions already quoted, but considers that the site was farther westward than Lake Onondaga, as held by Marshall, Brodhead and Clark, and leans to the opinion of O'Callahan, "perhaps on Lake Canandaigua, and has so marked it in his Route of Champlain (p. 370).

The Map of Champlain (1632) is naturally imperfect. It shows none of the group of Central New York lakes, a well-known feature in the geography of the State, but several bodies of water to the northeast of them. (See map January number.) In this imperfect geographical description lies the difficulty of ascertaining the precise site of the fort.

General John S. Clark of Auburn, in a paper read before the New York His-

torical Society, which showed an intimate knowledge of the remains of the various Indian villages and posts, assigned the site of the Iroquois fort to the western extremity of Oneida Lake. This interesting sketch, to which the accomplished gentleman devoted long and careful labor, is very decided in its conclusions. It has not yet been printed. When it shall be submitted to the public we believe that his critical examinations will go far towards settling this vexed question.

In stating these various opinions, we only observe that while the map is in dispute there is no question of the authenticity of the "View of the Fort" attacked in 1615, which we to-day reproduce, and that no site which will not accord with its certain position at the foot of a body of water large enough to admit of waves can be accepted. They are clearly delineated in the View, and to our mind conclusively show that the "*unfailing body of water*" to which Champlain alludes as the protection of the palisades against fire, was not a spring nor a brook, but an "*étang*" or pool, or lake, from which water could be drawn with certainty for its protection.

When the remains of a principal fort are established in such a situation, we shall consider the question of that attacked by Champlain as settled. Wherever it was, it was certainly the stronghold of the Iroquois nation. No such expedition as that of Champlain, with the entire power of his Indian allies, would have been undertaken against an inferior position.

EDITOR.

WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS.—In the new edition of Thomas' History of Printing

in America, edited under the auspices of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, p. 177, we read regarding Wisconsin: "The *Green Bay Republican* was printed by W. Shoals in 1831 or 1832." The dates here are both wrong. So is the intimation that Mr. Shoals published the first newspaper in Wisconsin. Only two issues were made in Green Bay or elsewhere in Wisconsin previous to 1834. Those two were Nos. I and II of the *Green Bay Intelligencer*, not *Republican*, on December 11th and 25th, 1833, not 1831 or 1832. Nor were these papers published by Shoals at all, but by Suydam and Ellis. This was the first printing ever done in the territory, now Wisconsin, except a few lottery tickets, which the Mr. Ellis just mentioned had struck off by hand.

The *Green Bay Republican* began to be published October 10, 1841, ten years later than as stated by the Antiquarian editor, and its publisher was not W. Shoals, but Henry O.

Madison, Wis. J. D. BUTLER.

COUNT RUMFORD.—Married in Paris, Count Rumford, to the widow of M. Vareesy; by which nuptial *experiment* he obtains a fortune of 8000l per annum—the most effective of all the *Rumfordizing* projects for keeping a *house warm*.—*Literary Tablet*, May 1, 1805. W. K.

THE PREPOSITION "OF."—On p. 259 of the Magazine the late Governor William Eustis is mentioned as "Secretary of War." This form of expression is a very modern innovation upon the accustomed mode. It originated, I believe, during Mr. Lincoln's administration, and

I imagine its use is exclusively confined to the United States. At all events it is manifestly incorrect. One can properly say secretary of an association, or of an office, as of State; that is, of the State Department, of the Treasury, the Interior, &c. These are substantive things; but War is simply a condition of public affairs, and, therefore, however real this condition may be, War in itself considered is a mere abstraction. We say, for instance, a counsellor *at* law, not *of* law, and so in other cases, as has been the immemorial practice. The mistake has arisen from not sufficiently appreciating the meaning and force of the preposition *at*. This is merely the Latin preposition *ad*, meaning *about* or *in reference to*; so that Secretary at War signifies Secretary *in reference to* or *concerning War*. G. L.

PENN'S DESCRIPTION OF PENNSYLVANIA.—William Penn while conversing with a gentleman in regard to the climate, soil, etc., of his new colony in America remarked: "That that country wanted the shelter of mountains, which left it open to the northern winds from Hudson's Bay, and the Frozen Sea, which destroyed all plantations of trees, and was even pernicious to all common vegetables." W. K.

THE FRANKING PRIVILEGE.—As Mr. Gideon Granger (the Postmaster General) is frequently under the necessity of travelling from Washington to Connecticut in the *mail stage*, it is suggested that instead of being franked each time, he should have the words *free* marked on the back of his coat, in gold letters. This might prevent any attempts to have

him stowed away in the mail.—*Washington Federalist*, September, 1802.

PETERSFIELD.

FULL-BLOODED YANKEES.—The celebration of Independence was observed at Concord, N. H., on the 5th instant, where the following toast was drank: "The Militia of this State—Theirs' be the spirit of '*full-blooded Yankees*.'"

This is an allusion to an anecdote of the late Gen. Cilley, perhaps not generally known. In an engagement in the late war his regiment was observed by Washington to fight with remarkable intrepidity and good conduct, from morning till night. The confusion of the scene prevented Washington, who was at some distance, from recognizing the regiment. Upon their return to camp in the evening, General Washington rode in the dusk, and inquired, "What troops are these?" Col. Cilley instantly and impetuously replied, "*Full-blooded Yankees, please your Excellency*."—*The Spectator*, July 28, 1802.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

QUERIES

THE FIRST FIRE ENGINES IN BROOKLYN.—Dr. Stiles, in his admirable history of Brooklyn, states that the first fire engine used in that city was procured in the year 1785. This was one built by Jacob Roome, of New York, all former engines having been imported from England. It appears, however, that one of these imported engines had been used in Brooklyn at an earlier date. In 1767 the French Church of New

York, which then owned a house near the ferry, in Brooklyn, contributed one pound toward the amount to be raised for the purchase of the fire engines, "qui sont depuis peu arrivés pour l'usage du ferry."

How early were these engines introduced in New York? C. W. B.

UNFAMILIAR QUOTATION.—Who was the author of the following lines applied to General Washington?

"The tall mast that bears our flag on high,
Grew in our soil and ripen'd in our sky."

CUTTER.

EAR-RINGS WORN BY AMERICAN SAILORS.—In the Gentleman's Magazine for March, 1814, it is charged that America encouraged Britons to "enter her marine and become traitors to their country; false certificates of citizenship, and an ear-ring in the ear, made an English seaman an American; and the Yorkshire dialect or the west country pronunciation would contradict the solemn assertions that they were Americans. 'What are you?' said a brave British Captain to a fellow with a ring in his ear, as he approached the quarter deck. 'Are you a man or a woman?' Disgusting as this custom is, it is become general; and it is now notic'd, to shew to what contemptible things men will submit, to hide or shelter their base conduct."

Was the ear-ring a distinctive mark of the American seaman and when was it adopted? W. K.

MONTGARNIER.—In the year 1807 and later "Montgarnier" wrote pieces for the N. Y. Weekly Museum, and again about

1817 in the *Commercial Advertiser*. Who was the writer that used this *nom de plume*?

X.

BROOMS AT THE MAST HEAD.—Christopher Marshall, of Philadelphia, noted in his diary from the *London News* of March, 1775, the following item: "There are, at this time, between London Bridge and Lime House, more than 300 vessels with brooms at their mast heads, as a token that they are for sale."

This custom, still in use in England, is of ancient date; it indicates that the vessel is for sale or hire. Was it ever practiced in America? ANNAPOLIS.

DOCTOR WHEELER.—Wanted, information of Charles Wheeler, M. D., "the only physician and surgeon in Lord Dunmore's army, 1774." Lies buried at Brownsville, Pa., where he died Sept., 1813, aged 71 years, having been born at London, England, in 1742. Does any work on Lord Dunmore mention him?

H. E. H.

DEVIL'S BELT.—In an English map made during the revolution (Jeffrey's London, 1778) Long Island Sound is set down as the *Devil's Belt*. When and why did this name originate and how long did it continue in use? J. D. B.

THE MORRIS CREST.—What legitimate heraldic authority of record was there for the crest of the Morris family, of Morrisania, viz.: a burning castle and the motto "*Tandem Vincitur*?" Bolton's History of Westchester County states that they were assumed, and gives the reasons with such particular detail as to fairly support the statement. J. B. B.

REPLIES

LE PETIT CENSEUR.—(I. 258.) The first number of this newspaper appeared in New York on the 4th July, 1805, under the title of *Le Petit Censeur, Journal Francais, Critique et Littéraire*. Its motto was from La Fontaine, "Tout faiseur de journal doit tribut au malin." The editor was M. Alexis Daudet (not Didot), price eight dollars a year. It was published from 144 Greenwich street, which appears to have been a house of French resort, as we find the name of Dr. Stephen Léon Henri Baptiste la Ravine among the deaths by yellow fever at this house in the fatal fall of this year. This fever was no doubt the cause of the failure of Daudet's enterprise. There exist seventeen continuous numbers, I to XVII, in the Library of the New York Historical Society, in the last of which the editor announces that it will be suspended for a few days only, the editor finding the cost of printing so great that he had determined to have a press of his own; whether any further issue was made is uncertain, probably not. The paper appears to have been a favorite organ for French advertisements. The prospectus, to which W. K. alludes, is not in the N. Y. Hist. Society's collection. The first number announces the coronation of Le Roi d'Italie. In his *Varieties* he complains bitterly of the terrible dust in Broadway, and urges the use of a water cart to lay it. In his *Modes* he discourses learnedly of the fashions, and describes the last French costume of a "petite maitresse de Paris." His informant was Adelle Colifichet, a Paris modiste, whose quarters were probably in the garret of 144.

J. A. S.

CONNECTICUT YANKEES.—(I. 256, 330.) Gordon, the Historian of the American Revolution, thus states the origin of the term Yankee. "Take the best account of it which your friend can procure. It was a cant, favorite word with farmer Jonathan Hastings, of Cambridge, about 1713. Two aged ministers, who were at the college at that town, have told me they remembered it to have been in use among the students but had no recollection of it before that period. The inventor used it to express excellency. A Yankee good horse, or Yankee cider and the like, were an excellent, good horse and excellent cider. The students used to hire horses of him; their intercourse with him and his use of the term upon all occasions led them to adopt it, and they gave him the name of Yankee Jon. He was a worthy, honest man, but no conjurer. This could not escape the notice of the collegiates. Yankee probably became a by-word among them to express a weak, simple, awkward person, was carried from the college with them when they left it, and was in that way circulated and established through the country (as was the case in respect to Hobson's choice by the students at Cambridge in old England) till from its currency in New England, it was at length taken up and unjustly applied to the New Englanders in common as a term of reproach." CAMBRIDGE.

WASHINGTON'S PORTRAIT.—(I. 55, 451.) William's Masonic portrait of Washington, referred to by H. E. H. (I. 451), was not, I believe, taken from life. The statement that "the President (Washington) was a member of Masonic Lodge

No. 22, Alexandria, Va.," is, I think also erroneous. I. C.

Alleghany City, Pa.

YANKEE DOODLE.—(I. 390.) In Munsell's Albany Almanac for 1877—No. 94, will be found a long article entitled "Yankee Doodle in the Albany Pasture," which is taken from an old file of the *Albany Statesman*, attributing the authorship of Yankee Doodle to Dr. Shackburg, of the British army, in 1752.

H. E. H.

AN HISTORICAL PORTRAIT.—(I. 251, 394.) An excellent French print in stipple has been recently shown to us. A bust portrait of Lafayette, engraved by Hopwood and published by Furne at Paris. The head is the same as that in the paintings in the New York and Massachusetts Historical Societies, but the arrangement of dress is different. There are epaulettes and also a single decoration on the left breast; the cross of St. Michel. Engravers occasionally take liberties with costumes, but it seems probable that both the pictures and the engraving had a common origin.

We have recently seen a small miniature portrait of Lafayette on ivory in the style of the close of the last century, which is similar in every point to that in the print of Furne. The coloring differs from that of the N. Y. Historical Society portrait. The coat is blue; standing collar blue with buff cording; epaulettes buff and buttons gold; white facings, cravat white, shirt bosom frilled, hair powdered and tied in black cue; on the left breast a red ribband bearing an order. EDITOR.

(Publishers of Historical works wishing Notices, will address the Editor with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

THE WASHINGTON-CRAWFORD LETTERS, BEING THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN GEORGE WASHINGTON AND WILLIAM CRAWFORD, FROM 1767 TO 1781, CONCERNING WESTERN LANDS, with an Appendix, containing later Letters of Washington on the same subject; and letters from Valentine Crawford to Washington, written in 1774 and 1775, chronologically arranged and carefully annotated by C. W. BUTTERFIELD 8vo, pp. 107. ROBERT CLARKE & Co., Cincinnati, 1877.

In his preface the editor justly assumes that this correspondence is a contribution of considerable value. Washington was well aware of the great value of western lands which he was himself one of the first to survey. Crawford was a surveyor and his trusted agent. Washington's letters are full of practical common sense. Crawford's show that Washington's confidence in him as an accomplished surveyor and a competent judge of the qualities of land was not misplaced.

The letters are preceded by a short but extremely interesting biographical sketch of Crawford, who saw considerable service as Colonel in the Virginia line, and was present at the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. After the war, he was actively engaged as surveyor and boundary commissioner. He lost his life while upon a campaign against the Wyandot Indians on the Sandusky river. Defeated by the savages, he fell into the hands of the Delawares a few days later, and died by torture on the 11th June, 1782, an incident which created intense excitement at the time throughout the United States.

AMERICA NOT DISCOVERED BY COLUMBUS; AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY THE NORSEMEN IN THE TENTH CENTURY, by RASMUS B. ANDERSON, A. M., Professor of the Scandinavian Languages in the University of Wisconsin, &c. With an Appendix on the Historical, Linguistic, Literary and Scientific Value of the Scandinavian Languages. (New and improved edition.) 8vo, pp. 120. S. C. GRIGGS & Co., Chicago, 1877.

More than one nation are claimed to have taken a hand in the discovery of America; Norsemen, Irish, Welsh, and even Chinese at periods far anterior to the later voyages, the priority of which is matter of dispute. Goodrich despises Columbus, and believes in the Norse discovery.

Leland accepts the Norse traditions, but sets up an idol of his own in a Buddhist monk of the fifth century. The International Congress of Savans, which met at Nancy in France in 1875, are also said to have recognized the claims of the Norsemen. They meet again at Luxembourg in September, when we may have their "last word" on this subject.

Mr. Anderson in no way disputes the subsequent claim of Columbus, but supports the story that the great admiral was himself in Iceland in 1472, and there learned the new route to India via the western continent. We have realized this route in the Pacific Railroad. Nothing is more probable than that the bold Icelanders often sighted Greenland, but that probability finds no support in our view in the doubtful inscriptions on the Dighton Rock or the no longer doubtful Newport Mill. We do not think that Mr. Anderson has made out more than a case of strong probability.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF NORTHERN NEW YORK AND THE ADIRONDACK WILDERNESS; including Traditions of the Indians, Early Explorers, Pioneer Settlers, Hermit Hunters, &c., by NATHANIEL BARTLETT SYLVESTER. 8vo, pp. 316. WILLIAM H. YOUNG, Troy, 1877.

Mr. Sylvester's attention was first drawn to the subject treated of in this pleasing volume by a request to prepare an article upon "John Brown's Tract or the Great Wilderness of Northern New York," a region familiar to our summer tourists as one of the most attractive of resorts which still retain a flavor of the olden time. Champlain was its first discoverer and explorer in 1609. The Iroquois and Algonquins then fought their battles on this territory. Later it was a disputed ground over which French and English contended for more than a century. Since his first work, Mr. Sylvester has devoted much time in examination of all that is to be gathered from documents or tradition, yet only claims to have pointed the way to the field of research.

A chapter recites in brief and easy style the history of the "Ho-de-no-sau-nee or People of the Long House," as the Iroquois in the Five Nations themselves called their Confederacy; another describes the geological formation of the Laurentides; another the visit of Châteaubriand, who, as well as Tom Moore, la Rochefoucauld and Talleyrand saw the Northern Wilderness, while still clothed with the "forest primæval;" another tells of *Ka-ad-ro-s-se-ra*, (Saratoga) and the northern warpath. We select the

titles of these to show the variety contained in the thirty-three chapters which make up this fascinating volume. There are two excellent portraits from steel, Champlain and Sir William Johnson, once Lord of this vast manor.

Let no one visit this region without this volume to guide and cheer the way.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND,
 BY GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE, LL. D.
 8vo, pp. 356. J. A. & R. A. REID, Providence, 1877.

The name of Mr. Greene is enough to commend this history, and no man knows better its precise value than himself. He divides history into two classes. "One a sober teacher; the other a pleasant companion." That of Mr. Arnold, the historian of Rhode Island, leaves no gaps in sober teaching; but for its aid, Mr. Greene says, his own would never have been written. We accept his book as a pleasant companion. It is more than this. It is happily divided and compact in form and treatment, and supplies all the information the ordinary reader looks for, with philosophy enough to satisfy the higher requirements of the historical student, who reasons backward to causes and forward to results from events.

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CONSECRATION SERVICES OF TRINITY CHURCH, BOSTON, FEBRUARY 9, 1877, with the Consecration Sermon, by Rev. A. H. VINTON, D. D.; an Historical Sermon by Rev. PHILIP BROOKS, and a Description of the Church Edifice by N. H. RICHARDSON, Architect. Small 4to, pp. 76. Printed by order of the Vestry. Boston, 1877.

This beautifully printed little volume is as interesting to the student of history as to those whose affection it reaches through the channel of religious thought. Mr. Brooks traces in his classic and charming style the history of the Episcopal Church of Boston, from its small and unpromising beginnings at a time when the Church of England was symbolic of tyranny and idolatry in the eyes of the stern Puritans, to its aristocratic period, when King's Chapel was endowed by the Crown; relates the burning of old Trinity church on Summer street, well remembered by New Yorkers in the days when Wainwright and Eastburn were its ministers, and brings its history down to the completion of the extensive and stately structure, the consecration of which this volume celebrates.

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HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE COUNTY OF PASSAIC, NEW JERSEY, ESPECIALLY OF THE

FIRST SETTLEMENTS AND SETTLERS, by WILLIAM NELSON. Prepared and printed by order of the Board of Chosen Freeholders of the County. 8vo, pp. 39. CHISWELL & WURTS, Paterson, N. J., 1877.

We have here a sketch of a county which has more of antiquity than romance to boast of. The first settlement of Acquackanonk, as the land to the northward of Newark was called, seems to have been in the year 1679-80. The Totowa Falls were to the Dutch a natural wonder. Among the settlers before the revolution we find many well-known names, prominent among which those of Schuyler, Bayard, Roome, Westervelt, an offshoot of the Lubbers, and Garretson. During the revolution this was historic ground. In 1776, after the battle of White Plains, the American army retreated behind the first line of Jersey hills; in 1778, after the battle of Monmouth, there was a running fight to Acquackanonk; in 1780 Lord Stirling had his headquarters at the Totowa bridge. The revolt of the Pennsylvania line took place at Pompton. Here, under the shadow of Federal Hill, the French army was encamped.

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THE MEDICAL MEN OF THE REVOLUTION, WITH A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY, CONTAINING THE NAMES OF NEARLY TWELVE HUNDRED PHYSICIANS. An Address before the Alumni Association of Jefferson Medical College, March 11, 1876, by J. M. TONER, M. D. 8vo, pp. 140. COLLINS, Philadelphia, 1876.

The leading authority on this subject has been Dr. Thatcher's Medical Biography. The present exhaustive sketch is an excellent supplement to the older work. The narrative includes the service at each battle during the revolution, with abundant notes, to which is added an appendix, with an alphabetical list of medical men who served, and an excellent general index of names. We take occasion to state that we have in this city the best collection of works relating to the medical history of the United States, the result of the intelligent labor of Dr. Purple.

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THE BURNING OF THE CONVENT.
 A NARRATIVE OF THE DESTRUCTION BY A MOB OF THE URSULINE SCHOOL ON MOUNT BENEDICT, CHARLESTOWN, AS REMEMBERED BY ONE OF THE PUPILS. 12mo, pp. 198. JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co., Boston, 1877.

Massachusetts is a staid commonwealth, and no part of it more staid and orderly than the

twin cities of Boston and Charlestown, which have been well ordered communities from the time when the first preachers laid down their organic law; but nevertheless they have not been exempt from occasional gusts of passion and unreasoning fury. In the Stamp Act days they set the example of popular uprisings and violence, which alarmed even their own sages. These had warrant in patriotic resistance to oppression. The destruction of the convent in 1834 is well remembered; the immediate cause of the assault was the refusal of the Superior to permit an examination of the vaults of the building, where cells of confinement and torture were supposed to exist, and a nun, who had escaped and been recaptured, was said to be confined. The convent life to which Miss Louisa Whitney was consigned by her father, and to which she seems to have had no special vocation, is described with grace and feeling, and the final scene itself with vivid detail. We do not wonder that the book has been a success. All truthful narratives of personal experience are successful.

BIOGRAPHIES OF FRANCIS LEWIS AND

MORGAN LEWIS, by their Grand-daughter, JULIA DELAFIELD. 16mo, pp. 225. A. D. F. RANDOLPH & Co., New York, 1877.

This little volume, by a lady who is well known to the older residents of New York, is a pleasing record of personal and family reminiscences, and valuable because it preserves in permanent form anecdotes hitherto of oral tradition. If it does not throw new light upon the facts of history, it at least helps us to understand the characters of those who moulded the events which make our history. Those interested in the families of Lewis and Livingston will find here much to amuse as well as to instruct them.

EVANGELICAL CATHOLIC PAPERS.

COMPRISING ADDRESSES, LECTURES AND SERMONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF REV. W. A. MUHLENBERG, D. D., DURING THE LAST FIFTY YEARS. Compiled by ANNE AYRES, Sister Superintendent of St. Luke's Hospital and St. Johnland. 8vo, pp. 459. T. WHITTAKER, New York, 1877.

These papers, we learn from the compiler's preface, were read in the proof by the worthy and beloved clergyman shortly before his death, and met his entire approval. They may be, therefore, accepted as a fair representation of his pulpit eloquence. It is said of General Wolfe that the night before his death he remarked that he would rather have been the author of Gray's *Elegy* than win a battle. Time

has confirmed the judgment of the accomplished soldier. The knell of the curfew will toll the fame of the penniless bard to millions of ears which the trumpet of fame will never reach. So of Muhlenberg it may be said that he has touched more hearts with one simple Christian hymn than hundreds of divines by volumes of theology.

SARATOGA; AN INDIAN TALE OF FRONTIER LIFE. A TRUE STORY OF 1787. 8vo, pp. 400. T. P. PETERSON BROS., Philadelphia, 1877.

The anonymous author asserts in his preface that for all artistic purposes "whatever might be true is true." This is a new theory. The purpose of art is to present nature in its highest form. To call this an Indian tale is a misnomer. It is an improbable episode in the life of a lunatic, one *Crazy Jake*, who we are informed was in 1787 a denizen of the Saratoga woods, after the manner of our old friend Orson; and whose amusement was, according to this story, to tie travelers to saplings, to tuck young women under his arm and hide them in caverns, and occasionally roast Indians at the stake, while himself protected by the superstitious regard in which his Indian and half-Indian neighbors held the demented, and by the philanthropy of a young gentleman who, perfectly safe himself by the magic power of his commanding eye, let his wild protégé run at large. We have the usual lovers after Cooper's style, the usual Oneida and half-breed; a glimpse of the Mingoes. Interspersed here and there some pleasing descriptions of the Springs before they became the fashion, and a romantic chapter entitled *Elective Affinities*, where the author soars into the upper realms. This title challenges comparison with Goethe's famous romance of this name, which is evidently familiar to the author. It is complained of that reviewers do not read the books which they notice. We have read this through, and confess that we never had such a hankering desire for Saratoga and a draught of its coolest spring.

ESSEX INSTITUTE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS, Volume XIII, Part IV. October 1876. Published by Essex Institute, 1877.

This number contains a continuation of the "Orderly Book of the Regiment of Artillery raised for the defense of the town of Boston in 1776." Of this regiment Thomas Crafts was Colonel, and Paul Revere Lt. Colonel. This is followed by copies from the Early Records of the Town of Rowley, Mass.; a sketch of the Dean family in Salem.

NARRATIVE OF THE NORTH POLAR EXPEDITION. U. S. SHIP POLARIS, CAPTAIN CHARLES FRANCIS HALL Commanding. Edited under the direction of the Hon. G. M. ROBESON, Secretary of the Navy, by Rear Admiral C. H. DAVIS, U. S. N. U. S. Naval Observatory, 1876. Royal 8vo, pp. 681. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, Washington.

The world belongs to man. He is its appointed lord and master. Its secrets are his; the hidden forces of nature are his and for his uses. To him it belongs to discover and control them. So long as he has not acquainted himself with the laws of all those that are evident to him; so long as there remains an inch of the earth's surface unexplored, his mission has not been completed, and he must continue to grope and hesitate in an uncertainty which only complete knowledge dispels. The primitive man having discovered fire and observed, in the ashes of the hearth, metallic substances before unknown, sought their like in the earth, and never rested until he found them or the substances of which they were composed. To this industry and inborn craving for knowledge, we owe our present comforts. Shall this craving and industry cease? Shall Nature say to her master: So far only shalt thou come? Shall the icy barrier of the poles, where lie hidden the final solvent of the mystery of magnetism and polar attraction defy the step or hand of man? The statement of the proposition is its answer. Governments may or may not aid in the final solution of these problems, but the history of mankind, and its progress through difficulties quite other than those offered by climate, make it certain that man, aided or unaided by the State, will ultimately succeed.

Captain Hall introduced a new method of exploration; that of using the Esquimaux as factors in the enterprise. Having acquired a knowledge of the Esquimaux language, he brought with him to the United States two Esquimaux, Joe and his wife, whom he proposed to use in the exploration. The interest he awakened in the subject, and his own earnest disposition readily acquired for him the support which he desired. Captain Hall made three expeditions to the Polar Regions. The first and second were undertaken upon funds subscribed by private liberality.

The results of the first (1860-1862) were the identification of Frobisher's expedition, relics of which were brought home; its main geographical discovery that Frobisher's Strait was a bay, in conformity to which the admiralty charts are now made. The second (1864-1869), the idea of which was conceived during his return from the first, but his report was interfered with because of the third expedition undertaken for the Government. It is of this, the expedition in the *Polaris*, that this volume treats. The papers,

journals and correspondence of this expedition were purchased by Congress in 1874, and are now at the Naval Observatory at Washington. The Senate ordered the narrative to be published, by resolution, February, 1877. Rear Admiral Davis undertook its preparation for the press, but his health failing, the labor of completion devolved upon Prof. J. E. Nourse, U. S. N. We cannot undertake to give even the result of this exploration. The narrative is copiously and well illustrated. We may only add that a new expedition is now proposed, and that Captain Howgate is appealing to our citizens to fit out a colony to settle near the Pole. Captain Howgate was the navigator of the *Polaris*, and is thoroughly imbued with the idea of Hall, that the final result will only be reached by approximate gradual advances.

SARATOGA. THE BATTLE. BATTLE-GROUND. VISITOR'S GUIDE. With Maps. By ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH. 4to, pp. 102. AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY, New York City, 1877.

A most seasonable publication in this the Centennial anniversary of the battle summer which terminated in the victory of Gates at Saratoga. The first part of the volume consists of the article on Burgoyne and the Northern Campaign of 1777, which appeared in our May number. This is followed by a few chapters, in which, in the form of a conversation between some summer residents at the springs, the minor incidents of the battle and numerous personal details of the officers of the two armies are graphically narrated. A third section forms a complete guide for visitors. There is an admirable map of the battlefield, showing in colors the British and American positions during the third period of the campaign, and also a Map of Drives in the vicinity of Saratoga. We have never seen a guide book so entertaining while at the same time practical as this. No visitor to the Springs should be without it.

TAINTOR'S ROUTE AND CITY GUIDES. NORTHERN NEW ENGLAND RESORTS; SEASIDE RESORTS ON THE ATLANTIC COAST; HUDSON RIVER ROUTE; SARATOGA ILLUSTRATED; CITY OF NEW YORK. Small 8vo. TAINTOR BROTHERS, MERRILL & CO., New York.

The excellence of these convenient little handbooks is well known. They convey about all the information a traveler stands in need of; tables of distances, picturesque descriptions, advice as to hotels, numerous illustrations and accurate maps.

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THE LOCATION OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

IT is "a singular fact, but not generally known, that the seat of Government of the United States was located by Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson while sipping a bottle of wine." The above appeared a short time ago as an editorial paragraph in one of the leading newspapers of the country. The disposition to crystallize into short and striking paragraphs important events and occurrences is, from the shortness of life, perhaps commendable, if not one of the demands of these whirling times. It certainly, however, should not be indulged or encouraged when the process conveys erroneous impressions, or does violence to interesting historical facts. When it is stated that to Congress belonged the power of fixing the seat of Government much of the sparkle of the wine disappears; although doubtless the soothing and gladsome virtues of that beverage were not entirely unknown factors in the legislation of that period. If the gentle reader has had any experience in fixing or removing even a county seat, he may have some faint conception of the vehemence and bitterness in which the local interests and narrow prejudices, the jealousies, the pride and honor, and even the patriotic sentiments of thirteen States were to be consulted.

The introduction of this question into Congress, together with its companion piece, the assumption of the State debts, produced one of the most angry and bitter discussions recorded in its annals. Although as early as 1784, under the confederation, the necessity of fixing a permanent residence for Congress was generally acknowledged; and under an ordinance of that date commissioners had been appointed to purchase land on the Delaware, and to erect buildings thereon for that purpose; yet the Southern States were always strong enough to arrest the execution of the design, by refusing an appropriation of funds, which required the assent of nine States; and when the new government was inaugurated the powers of the commissioners passed away, and their proceedings were treated as a nullity.




The question of locating the permanent seat of government was introduced into the first Congress by a resolution offered in the lower branch, declaring it should be fixed on the east bank of the Susquehanna. It was conceded that the capital should be located either in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland or Virginia, and each of these States had offered to donate land for that purpose. Philadelphia on the Delaware, became one extreme, and Georgetown on the Potomac, the other. Many intermediate points, Germantown, Lancaster, Harrisburg, Wright's Ferry, York, Carlisle, and Baltimore, were named as suitable places for the capital. Pittsburgh also was casually mentioned, which led Fisher Ames, a leading statesman of his day, to make the famous declaration, that the region north and west of the Ohio was an unmeasurable wilderness; that the decision of the question on a prospective population was perfectly romantic; that it would be a century before those people would be considerable, and how that country was to be governed when settled was beyond all calculation.

The question, however, was narrowed to the consideration of the respective claims of the Susquehanna and the Potomac. The object was to select a locality in the centre of the wealth, population and territory of the United States, accessible from the Atlantic Ocean, and having a direct and easy communication with the western country. It was urged in favor of the Susquehanna that it was the centre of common convenience, equally distant from the extreme east and south. It afforded easy access to the ocean, and yet was secure from foreign invasion; it was south of the centre of wealth and population, and it was held that the future population of the country would incline more to the Eastern and manufacturing States than towards the Southern and agricultural; that by a small outlay the navigation of that river, together with that of the Juniata and the Kiskiminitas, a branch of the Allegheny, could be made available, and a safe, easy and commodious communication with the west could be established. In the event of the western country separating from the Union, the capital, if located on the Susquehanna, would be on the right side of the dividing line; and at no remote day the accession of the British provinces to the Union might be confidently expected. If the Potomac was selected, there would be nine States to the northward of that river, and but four southward. Besides and much more, that region was malarious, unhealthy and destructive to northern constitutions; and eastern adventurers going into that country had only met untimely graves. If the capital was located on that river, the whole of New England would consider the Union dissolved.

Those friendly to the Potomac insisted that the interests of the Southern States and the western country should be consulted, and that those interests would be sacrificed if their wishes in this respect were not complied with; that while the question of wealth had no proper bearing on the subject, the center of population was continually receding from the east. With a salubrity of climate, and a fertility of soil unsurpassed, the Potomac had a direct communication with the ocean; while that with the west was not only more certain and convenient, but in the latter respect it had an immense advantage over the Susquehanna. With a short portage between the head-waters of the Potomac and the Youghiogheny, these rivers could be made navigable, and Georgetown, the locality contemplated, would be by this route only two hundred and fifty miles from Pittsburg, the key to the western country.

The lower House was so divided that Pennsylvania held the balance of power; but the members from that State were themselves somewhat divided in their views, and in consequence secret and mysterious intrigues and political sleight-of-hand were in turn charged by cunning wights from the east and south upon the representatives from that State. But no Pennsylvanian need decline a comparison, or be put to the blush, at the final action of the delegation upon that question. A vote was reached and the Susquehanna was selected. A bill was framed in compliance with the resolution and sent to the Senate, which body, contrary to all expectation, struck out the Susquehanna and inserted the Delaware. The House concurred in the amendment, adding a proviso, that the laws of Pennsylvania should remain in force in the territory selected until otherwise provided. This very reasonable proviso was, for some cause not apparent, rejected by the Senate, and the subject was dismissed for that session.

At the next session of Congress the question again came up, and became strangely blended and interwoven with another leading and important measure. On January 14, 1790, Alexander Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury, submitted to and read in Congress his masterly Report on the Support of Public Credit, a document as remarkable for the honesty and soundness of its maxims as for the strength and beauty of its language. The cardinal principle of that report was, that the public debt ought to be provided for on the basis of the contract upon which it was created. He not only urged the funding of the debts contracted by Congress, but also advocated that the General Government should assume the debts of the individual States, contracted in prosecuting the revolutionary war. The violence and acrimony with which



the last proposition was assailed was only equalled by the zeal, ability and determination with which it was defended. The eastern members, with an exception, were its firm and staunch supporters, while the Southern members, with the exception of those from South Carolina, were just as determined in opposition. This was a State Right of such a peculiar nature that the most strenuous advocates of that doctrine were very glad and willing to surrender. The New York and Pennsylvania delegations were about equally divided on the question.

Against the assumption, it was argued that Congress had no power to assume these debts. No petition, either from a State or a creditor, had been presented, asking for such an assumption, nor had any State Legislature instructed in favor of the measure; but, on the contrary, one State had not only instructed her representatives against the measure, but had unanimously passed an amendment in accepting the constitution, utterly repudiating the right of Congress to control or regulate these debts. The measure is both impolitic and unjust; it tends to consolidation; that while it gives importance to the General Government, the popularity and energy of the State Governments would be destroyed. It was further urged that these State debts had never been fairly liquidated; that while some of the States had paid off a great part of their indebtedness, others had made no exertion whatever in that direction. Not only had some of the States given large bounties to their troops, but they had also fitted out rash, foolish and expensive expeditions, and all this was included in the sums to be assumed. Speculators alone would profit at the expense of the many; and so manifold and direful were the evils that this measure, if adopted, would inflict on the peace, prosperity and happiness of the people, that they would put a Hastings to the blush, though long accustomed to preying upon the vitals of his fellow men.

Briefly stated, the leading arguments in favor of assumption, were, that not only had these debts been contracted on the recommendation of Congress, but they had been incurred to secure the peace, liberty and independence of the United States; the first army was raised, armed and equipped by the States. Prudence, policy and justice dictated that these debts, having been contracted for the common defence and general welfare, should be made a common burden. The resources of the Union could be better developed, and taxes for the payment of these debts could be collected with greater ease and facility under one government than under many. The States having surrendered the revenue arising from import and tonnage, would the general Government, after acquiring their resources, be so unjust and ungenerous as to

refuse to assume their indebtedness? If the assumption of these debts tended to consolidation, would not the refusal to assume lead directly to disunion? That of all the bands of a political connection none is stronger than a uniform, compact and efficacious chain or system of revenues. Not only will public credit be restored, industry encouraged, and the trade and manufactures of the States promoted; but direct taxes will be suppressed, and the invidious comparisons between the States and their citizens will be abolished. In short, the adoption of this measure alone will make us a great, flourishing and happy nation.

The debate lasted many weeks, and some of the speeches were of the most violent character. Unfortunately the Senate sat with closed doors, and the speeches delivered in that body were never reported. A vote was finally reached, and assumption was defeated in the House by a majority of two. There was a solemn and an ominous pause in the proceedings. Congress met from day to day, and adjourned without transacting business. Secession was openly avowed, and the Government seemed on the verge of destruction. To confront and grapple with every danger was the maxim and practice of Hamilton, and in the midst of this crisis, he, almost in despair of the Union, sought Jefferson, and represented the serious and critical juncture of affairs: painted the temper into which Congress had been wrought; that a secession of the members and a separation of the States seemed inevitable, and urged that as the assumption measure had failed, but by a small majority, if Jefferson would appeal to the judgment and discretion of some of his friends a change might be effected in the vote, and the machine of government again set in motion. While candidly confessing that the measure was unpalatable to the South, yet he observed that those States were sorely grieved at the prospect of losing the capital, and suggested, as a compromise, that the temporary residence of Congress be located at Philadelphia until the year 1800, and thereafter the permanent seat of government should be fixed on the Potomac. Jefferson assented, and bills were at once introduced into the Senate assuming the State debts and locating the capital, as suggested by Hamilton, and both these measures passed that body by a majority of two. The bills were sent to the House, and assumption was carried, on a full vote, by a majority of six, and the other measure by a majority of three.

The immediate effect of the assumption measure was the relieving South Carolina and Massachusetts, each of nearly \$4,000,000 of debt, which may account in part for the rapid growth and prosperity of those States, while the balance of the \$18,000,000 actually assumed was dis-

tributed among the other members of the Union. But the Report of Hamilton had a more lasting and far-reaching influence. Although from the confidence inspired by the new government the public stocks had gradually improved, yet on the adoption of the suggestions of Hamilton the public securities advanced to a premium; and the success with which the Treasury measure was attended not only stung the hearts, but unnerved and paralyzed the efforts of the State leaders. At the next session the plan of a National Bank, devised by Hamilton, through which the fiscal operations of the Government were to be carried on, though just as fiercely assailed, was adopted in Congress by a majority of thirty-two. Decided and gratifying as was this mark of confidence, it was soon supplemented by the more pleasing and striking fact that the entire stock of the Bank, amounting to \$10,000,000, was subscribed and taken in a single day; and while paying $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. annual dividends, the stock was soon selling at 20, 25 and even 45 per cent. premium. But this was not all. The principles of the Report became the rallying cry and landmark of party; and if not originating, gave form and pressure to the great political parties, the liberal and strict constructionists, that for many subsequent years divided and dominated the country. In succeeding elections these principles were discussed on the hustings, and many, both of those who had favored and those who had opposed the measures, either declined being candidates or were overwhelmingly defeated. Perhaps the most desperate and determined contest was in the State of New York. Philip Schuyler was one of the first Senators from that State, and having drawn the short term, his seat became vacant in March, 1791. He was a candidate for re-election and Aaron Burr was his competitor. Both branches of the Legislature were confessedly Federalist, and Schuyler was the leader of that party in the State. But Burr, skillfully seizing on his unpopular vote for the assumption measure, wielded it against him with dexterous and terrible force. The high character of Schuyler, his honor and his integrity, his great experience and large and liberal views, supported by the powerful interests of the Renselaers, and aided by all the tact and skill of Hamilton, were counted as nothing in the storm raised by the astuteness, the ingenuity and the duplicity of his consummate political opponent.

Jefferson never forgave either himself or Hamilton for the part he had been induced to take on the assumption measure, regarding it as the great political error of his life, and bitterly complained that he was made "to hold a candle" to a scheme the object of which he was unaware, and in which he took no concern. It may well be doubted whether one

with an unconcealed hostility to a system under which \$60,000,000 had been funded, and theorizing upon the novel and surprising question, whether a nation could be bound for its debts for a longer period than nineteen years, and by letter actually undertaking to convert Madison to the proposition, by whom he was powerfully refuted, could at all appreciate the character or the measures of a man engaged in the more onerous and practical task of devising means for the gradual if not speedy payment of the National debt.

Alexander Hamilton was perhaps the most remarkable man called into the councils of this Government. For thirty years, from the age of seventeen, he bore a leading and conspicuous part in the affairs of America. A life not without its errors and mistakes, and, indeed, with some passages to him of bitter memory and deep regret; yet he served his country, both in the field and council, with an ability and a singleness and purity of purpose never surpassed. As a soldier and a scholar, and ranking as the foremost orator of his day, as a jurist, a legislator and a political economist, holding the slender and flexible threads of a finance or a revenue system with "a firm and instructed hand," he certainly remains the most unique character in our own history, while eminent foreign writers have not hesitated to class him with the great statesmen of ancient or modern times. Accepting a position in the Cabinet of Washington, he became his trusted and confidential adviser; and while proposing a funding and creating a revenue system, and devising a plan of a National Bank, he also organized the Treasury Department; and not only the great outlines, but many of the minute regulations of all these remain and are in full operation to-day. He retired from the Treasury after an inquiry into his official conduct, in which a majority of the Committee were his very decided political if not personal enemies, and the investigation, after the strictest scrutiny, not only completely vindicated his honor and his integrity, but proved a mortifying disappointment to his accusers. Although in a private station, he continued to shape the policy of Washington's second administration; and with the exception of the Alien and Sedition Laws, he originated many of the leading measures of the administration of John Adams. He died at the age of forty-seven, and his death was a public calamity.

THOMAS HENRY

EBENEZER STEVENS

LIEUT.-COL. OF ARTILLERY IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY

Ebenezer Stevens, son of Ebenezer Stevens and Elizabeth Weld, his wife, both of Roxbury, Mass., was born at Boston the 11th of August, 1751, o. s. [August 22d.] On both sides his parents were of unmixed English and Puritan stock. When his first ancestor on the father's side emigrated from Cornwall in England is uncertain, but the name of his grandfather, Erasmus Stevens, appears in 1714 as one of the founders of the New North Church in Boston. It was in an offshoot from this church, "the new Brick," that Ebenezer was christened by the Reverend Thomas Foxcroft, as appears by its records. His mother was a descendant of the Reverend Thomas Weld, one of the first of the non-conformist clergymen who fled to Holland to escape the persecution of Laud, and later crossed to the Massachusetts Colony, where he was called to the church in Roxbury in 1632.

The last half of the eighteenth century was a period of severe distress to the American Colonies, which the wars of a half century had greatly impoverished; especially to those of New England, where life with an ungrateful soil and a rude climate was a severe struggle even to the more favored of fortune. Young Stevens was not of these. He received hardly more than the rudiments of education, and sought his livelihood in mechanical pursuits, for which he early developed a remarkable natural tendency, which proved later to be not only a promoter of his personal fortunes but of great advantage to the cause which he espoused.

Decision and strength of character are rapidly developed in troublous times. Stevens had just completed his fourteenth year when the first Tree of Liberty was christened in the Stamp Act days, and hardly twenty when the Boston massacre startled the continent. Such were the scenes which moulded his character and toughened the fibres of his manly resolution.

At an early day he showed a military disposition, and joined Paddock's company of artillery. As it was here that the future artillery officer received his first lessons in military service, a word concerning this famous corps may not be deemed an unreasonable digression. The "Train," as this company was called, was organized in 1763, and passed in 1768 under the command of Lieutenant Adino Paddock, who

was a "complete artilleryman" and a competent officer. In the year 1766 a company of British artillery bound for Quebec, finding it too late to enter the St. Lawrence, put into Boston and wintered at Castle William. From these Paddock's men derived instruction in the art of field artillery. Major Paddock bought two brass pieces, to which two more were later added, and the company was taught the manœuvres in the open field. By this practical training it became a military school which later furnished many excellent officers to the Revolutionary army. Indeed, it may be claimed that it was the nucleus of this famous corps which won encomiums from their enemies and proved themselves not unequal to their French allies in every engagement in which they were combined. Paddock's company was composed almost entirely of mechanics, many of whom were active members of the organization which, under the name of Sons of Liberty, had affiliated the bold spirits of all the Colonies in a joint resistance to the encroachments of the Crown.

The Dartmouth, the first of the fleet of tea ships intended for the colonies, arrived in Boston harbor and anchored off the castle on the 28th November, 1773. The vessel was ordered to Griffin's wharf by the town committee, of which Samuel Adams was chairman. Paddock's company was called upon by the same committee to guard the tea and prevent its landing. Paddock, whose sympathies were with the Royal authorities, refused his consent, but at a company meeting the charge was accepted and undertaken by them, First Lieut. Jabez Hatch taking the command. Stevens was one of those who volunteered on this service. Early in December two other vessels, the Eleanor and Beaver, also arrived, one of which was ordered to the same wharf, and the other to the north end of Hancock's wharf. On the night of the 16th the custom officials, under the influence of Governor Hutchinson, having refused to clear the vessels on their homeward voyage until they should be discharged of the tea, an immense town meeting was held in the old South Meeting House, at which it was estimated that not less than two thousand persons were present. The meeting adjourned till the afternoon to hear the report of their committee as to whether the collector would clear the vessels. Spirited addresses were made, and the assemblage, which had swelled to the number of seven thousand, was detained till dark, when no reply being received from the collector the meeting was dissolved. Stevens was present at this meeting, and the account of the destruction of the tea now given is in his own recollection of the affair, as taken from his words at a later period by one of his sons: "I went from the Old South Meeting House just after dark; the party was about seventy or

eighty. At the head of the wharf [Griffin's wharf] we met the detachment of our company on guard, who joined us. I commenced with a party on board the vessel of which Hodgdon was mate, and as he knew me, I left that vessel with some of my comrades, and went on board the other vessel which lay at the opposite side of the wharf; numbers of others took our places on board Hodgdon's vessel. We commenced handing the boxes of tea on deck, and first commenced breaking them with axes, but found much difficulty, owing to the boxes of tea being covered with canvass—the mode that this article was then imported in. I think that all the tea was discharged in about two hours. We were careful to prevent any being taken away; *none of the party were painted as Indians*, nor, that I know of disguised, excepting that some of them stopped at a paint shop on the way and daubed their faces with paint."

This is not the accepted story because, perhaps, of the natural tendency in the human mind to give more credence to poetry and romance than to dry fact. Yet no testimony can be more absolute than this of an actor in the scene. The authority for the story of the Indian disguise is a contemporary account published in the Massachusetts Gazette, which says that "just before the dissolution of the meeting a number of brave and resolute men, dressed in the Indian manner, approached near the door of the assembly and gave the war whoop, which rang through the room, and was answered by some in the galleries." Hutchinson, in his History of Massachusetts Bay, says that "about fifty men had prepared themselves and passed by the house where the people were assembled to the wharf where the vessels lay, being covered with blankets and making the appearance of Indians." Bancroft follows these accounts, and adds that "each of them held a hatchet." In the Traits of the Tea Party, made up from the recollections of Hewes, himself a participator, we find that "the disguise was hastily prepared and was after all but the work of a few moments," and it is added on the recollection of Pierce, who was also present, "that they arrayed themselves in a store on Fort Hill," and that the number of persons who assumed the Indian disguise was probably not more than fifteen or twenty. It seems more probable that the idea of a disguise was an after thought, and intended to deceive the authorities and lead them to the belief that it was too complete to allow of identification for arrest and punishment.

The Hodgdon mentioned by Stevens in his account was Alexander Hodgdon, later Treasurer of the State of Massachusetts. Stevens was at this time courting his sister, and was naturally desirous not to compromise himself or his friend.

The Boston Port Bill closing the Port of Boston followed immediately upon the information of the destruction of the tea reaching England. Several regiments of the King's troops were ordered to Boston and General Gage placed in command. In the reminiscences from which we have just quoted, Stevens says that the last time that he served with his company (the artillery company) was when they received General Gage, who arrived from New York. This was on the 13th May, 1774.

Soon after, in consequence of the stagnation of business consequent upon the closing of the Port, and apprehensive perhaps that his participation in the destruction of the tea might be visited upon him, he went to Providence, where, on the 11th October he married Rebecca, the daughter of Benjamin Hodgdon of New Hampshire, the sister of the mate of the tea ship we have mentioned. He here entered into business, building houses and warehouses, probably in connection with John Crane, also a member of Paddock's company, who had left Boston at the same time as himself. He was thus engaged when the news of the battle of Lexington reached Providence. He at once abandoned his business, and with his comrade, John Crane, began the organization of a company of artillery. His commission, still preserved, is wholly in manuscript. It is given entire as a curious specimen of the manner in which the revolutionists waged war in the King's name.

"By the Honorable the General Assembly of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in New England in America, To EBENEZER STEVENS, gentleman. Greeting: WHEREAS, for the preservation of the Rights and Liberties of his Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects in this Colony and America, the aforesaid General Assembly have ordered fifteen hundred men to be enlisted, and embodied into an army of observation, and the Committee of Safety have appointed you, the said Ebenezer Stevens, First Lieutenant of the Company of the Train of Artillery, belonging to the said Troops, You are therefore hereby in his Majesty's name, George the Third by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, &c., authorized, empowered, and commissioned to have, take, and exercise the office of First Lieutenant of the Company aforesaid; and to command, guide and conduct the same or any part thereof. And in case of an invasion or assault of a common enemy, to infest or disturb this or any other of his Majesty's Colonies in America, You are to alarm and gather together the Company under your command or any part thereof, as you shall deem sufficient, and therewith to the utmost

of your skill and ability, you are to resist, expel, kill and destroy them, in order to preserve the interest of his Majesty, and his good subjects in these parts. YOU are also to follow such Instructions, Directions, and Orders, as shall from Time to Time be given forth, either by the General Assembly, or your superior officers. And for your so doing this Commission shall be your sufficient warrant. By virtue of an Act of the said General Assembly, I, Henry Ward, Esq., Secretary of the said Colony have hereunto set my Hand and the Public Seal of the said Colony, this Eighth Day of May A. D. 1775, and in the Fifteenth year of his said Majesty's Reign.

HENRY WARD."

This Commission, it will be observed, bears a date only nineteen days later than the battle of Lexington. John Crane was the Captain of this Company. The Rhode Island troops were placed under command of General Greene, and were marched as fast as raised to the general camp then forming before Boston. The arrival of the Rhode Island artillery from Providence is noticed in a newspaper of the day in flattering terms "as a fine company with four excellent field pieces." The company moved first to Jamaica Plains, the Country seat of Governor Barnard, and was afterwards stationed at Roxbury, although the rest of Greene's brigade was posted at Cambridge. The return of its numbers of the 21st July gives a total force of 96.

At the time of the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17th, 1775, Stevens' company was posted at the Neck to protect the line of retreat. During the siege of Boston it garrisoned the fort at Roxbury.

At the close of the year 1775 the Rhode Island Company was disbanded; Crane and Stevens were commissioned in the artillery regiments raised by Massachusetts in the beginning of the year, and afterward transferred to the regiment organized by Congress, on the Continental establishment, under the command of Colonel Henry Knox, which was enlisted for one year, Crane with the rank of Major and Stevens as Captain. His commission, signed by John Hancock, President, and Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, and dated the 11th January, 1776, is still in existence.

The expedition to Canada under Montgomery by the way of the northern lakes, and by Arnold by the Kennebec and the valley of Chaudiere, had not been successful; Montgomery had fallen on the last day of the year and Arnold was in command. Strenuous efforts were made to strengthen the army in Canada. In March, 1776, Stevens was ordered northward on a march to Quebec with two companies, his own and that of Captain Eustis and a party of artificers. The marching orders run as follows:

"Camp at Cambridge, March 28, 1776. Instructions for Captain Ebenezer Stevens, commanding two companies of the Regiment of Artillery on a march to Quebec. You with the companies under your command are to make the most expeditious marches into Canada, there to join the army under Major-General Thomas, in order to conquer and entirely subdue the enemies of Liberty and America in that province. Your route will be through NUMBER FOUR in the Province of New Hampshire to Crown Point, where you will draw what provisions you may think necessary for your future progress. It is a matter of great importance that the mortars, shell, &c., which you have in charge, should reach the camp before Quebec. If, therefore, any of the teams should fail you must procure fresh ones from the country people, and give an order for the pay on the Quartermaster-General or his assistant up that way or to this camp, whichever shall be the most agreeable. You are to take particular care that your men are well covered in the night, and likewise that they observe the strictest discipline.

"HENRY KNOX, Colonel; Regiment of Artillery."

Washington advised Arnold of the dispatch of these companies on the 3d of April. It was on this march by Charlestown, New Hampshire, then called Number Four, where the party crossed the Connecticut river, that Stevens first displayed the energy and fertility of resource which were his distinguishing traits. The winter of 1775 to 1776 had been one of extreme severity, and the country was covered with heavy snow. Stevens cut a road across the Green Mountains to Otter Creek, a distance from river to river of forty miles. The two mortars which he had carried with him weighing four tons each, his progress from the camp to Charlestown was twenty miles a day, but such was the obstacles to be overcome that he was twenty days in making the remaining distance. Arrived at Otter Creek he built rafts and descended to Atterbury's Falls and thence to New Haven Falls, dragging his mortars and baggage at one of these portages a distance of eight miles. On reaching Lake Champlain Captain Eustis was dispatched to Crown Point for boats, which were procured and brought up the creek. In these bateaux Stevens proceeded to St. Johns, landing first at Point-au-fer. At St. Johns he found pilots and pushed on to Chamblee and the Three Rivers, where he met an express bringing intelligence that Thomas had left the plains of Abraham on the 6th of May. The date of Stevens' arrival does not appear. General Schuyler, writing to Washington from Fort George, April 26, mentions among other forces transported to Canada, Captain Stevens' company with the "mortars and shells."

There were no military movements, and the artillery was busy in preparing ammunition. On the 25th May General Thompson wrote from the camp at Sorel to the Commissioners sent by Congress to enquire into the State of the Army: "Captain Stevens goes up to provide some articles wanted for the artillery, and will return as soon as possible. One thousand weight of lead, fifty quires of cartridge paper, and fifteen pounds of thread wanted to complete the troops here to twenty-four rounds per man." The arrival of reinforcements from England and the prevalence of small pox in the American forces were the immediate cause of the raising of the siege of Quebec and the precipitate withdrawal of the Continental Army. Towards the end of May further reinforcements arrived from England and a rendezvous was ordered at Three Rivers. Here General Sullivan, on whom the command devolved after the death of Thomas, who fell a victim to the small pox, determined to attack their advance guard. An expedition was organized which left Sorel the 6th of June with eighteen hundred men in fifty boats, followed the next day by Stevens with his companies of artillery. He was, however, from the difficulty of landing his guns, ordered back by General Thompson, and took no part in the engagement which followed. Thompson was defeated with heavy loss, and himself fell into the hands of the enemy. The British followed in pursuit. A fragment of a journal kept by Stevens at this period (June 7) gives as the reason for the artillery not being landed, that in the opinion of General Thompson the "ground proved bad." He adds that he "was ordered back with his company without going on shore, which was not agreeable." In the same journal he states that he reached the camp at Sorel at ten o'clock of the forenoon of the next day. In his entry of the 9th he says: "that, on receipt of information that the enemies' troops were on their way to Sorel, the drums beat to arms in camp, got the cannon out of the batteaux, mounted them in the battery; camp in great confusion. The next day early, in a council of war, a retreat to St. Johns was decided upon. The artillery was again reembarked, and by ten o'clock in the morning was on board the batteaux and under way for Chamblee above. They arrived next day at noon." On the 10th he writes: "the whole army was employed in getting their guns, equipments and stores over the carrying-place." Here there was a false alarm of an attack and great confusion. The provisions were opened to the troops, the trunnions were broken from the cannon; and Stevens relates "one fine eighteen pounder was lost in the rapids. In transporting the cannon and stores the men were up to their waists, and obliged to drag the batteaux by bodily strength up the rap-

ids. After working all that night, the next day, the 12th, Chamblee was fired, three new gondolas also burned, and two thirty pounders which had been got partly across were thrown into the rapids. The sick were put into the boats and at nine o'clock the march was begun for St. Johns, with two four pounders, four companies of artillery and two thousand infantry. So close was the pursuit that the British entered Chamblee as the rear guard of the Americans left it. The retreat was now regular and the body entered St. Johns at six o'clock the same day. On the 13th news of the capture of Thompson arrived. On the 18th a council of war was held, and the retreat resumed by batteaux to the Isle aux Noix, which was reached at midnight. Burgoyne the same evening arrived in St. Johns. From the Isle aux Noix the army retired to Crown Point, where General Sullivan arrived the first of July. He had been superseded in command by resolution of Congress, which on the 17th June had assigned Major-General Gates to the command of the army in Canada. Washington's instructions to Gates of the 24th June invested him with full powers as to the appointment of his officers. At the same time he was directed to consult with Colonel Knox concerning the artillery, and with Major-General Schuyler, whose headquarters were at Albany, as to the provisions and stores.

Gates made his headquarters at Ticonderoga, where the summer was passed in a reorganization of the army, which was decimated by the small pox, and the building of a fleet of low galleys and gunboats by which Arnold proposed to hold possession of Lake Champlain. It is not necessary to enter into the details of the gallant action between Arnold's flotilla and Carleton's superior force, in which the American vessels were all captured or burned between the 11th and 13th October. On the 14th Carleton landed at Crown Point, the master of the Lake; two hours distant lay Ticonderoga, an easy prey, but Carleton, not prepared for a further offensive, returned to winter quarters in Canada, and allowed the golden opportunity of a junction with Lord Howe's forces to slip by, an opportunity never to return. On the reorganization of the army by Gates, Captain Stevens was appointed, on the 15th September, "to take command of all the artillery on the west side of the Lake, and to encamp on the *French* lines (Ticonderoga) with General St. Clair's brigade."

While awaiting the attack of Carleton the artillery was busily engaged in preparation. In eight days they made carriages for forty-seven or more pieces of cannon and mounted them. The defences were also strengthened, and surrounded with redoubts and abattis.

A Committee of Congress, which visited the Northern Department

about this time, gave to Stevens the rank of Major, and he is so styled in the General Orders of October 22d. On the 18th November, the main body having left Ticonderoga, Colonel Anthony Wayne was directed in General Orders to take command of that post and of the garrison of Mount Independence. A second Committee of Congress was sent in November to examine into the condition of the Northern Department. At their instance Generals Schuyler and Gates called for calculations and estimates for supplying the army. Among the reports submitted to Congress appears "a Calculation of Ordnance and Ordnance stores wanted for the Army of the Northern Department," made by order of the Honorable Major-General Schuyler, dated in camp in Ticonderoga, on November 30th, and signed Ebenezer Stevens, Major of Artillery.

The time for which Colonel Knox's regiment enlisted expired with the year 1776. The augmentation of that arm of the service had been urged upon the Commander-in-chief by Knox in the summer of 1775, and a plan drawn by him had been submitted to Congress, which in July, 1776, authorized another battalion to be raised, and requested Washington to recommend proper officers to compose the corps. Nothing was done, however; for in November Knox again urged the increase of the force. In December, however, under the authority of a resolution of the 12th of that month, conferring extensive powers on the Commander-in-chief, Washington directed three battalions to be enlisted, and recommended that Colonel Knox be appointed a Brigadier-General of Artillery. Later in the same month the appointment was made by Congress; three regiments, or as they had been called, battalions, to be raised, and Washington was empowered to appoint the officers and establish their pay. Later a fourth regiment was ordered. These four regiments were assigned as follows in the orders of State quotas: Harrison's to Virginia; Lamb's to New York; Crane's to Massachusetts; Proctor's to Pennsylvania. Early in December, Colonel Baldwin, the engineer officer in charge of the works at Ticonderoga, and Major Stevens obtained a leave of absence from General Gates. On their way down they called upon General Schuyler, then at Saratoga, who authorized them to purchase at Boston or elsewhere what supplies they needed, and particularly empowered Stevens, who had recommended a Commissary of Ordnance and Master of Laboratory, to engage proper persons for such service, and offer the same pay as those serving under the immediate command of General Washington. General Ward was requested to give all possible aid to Stevens, who was to recruit as many men as possible for his command.

He appears to have at once started eastward upon this mission, in which he was, however, not left long in quiet. On the 18th January, Knox, then at Poughkeepsie, informed him by letter that it was the wish of General Washington that all the cannon at Albany not wanted for the defense of the North River be sent to Pennsylvania; that so soon as the ice should break up in the river, the artillery and stores should be sent to New Windsor. Knox further directed him to confer with General Lincoln, and send immediately to Springfield all the damaged small arms which could not with the utmost certainty be repaired at Albany. Knox was undoubtedly not aware that Stevens had been despatched to Boston, as he requested him to write to him at Boston, whither he was himself going, and added that it was probable he would see him in Albany on his return.

Schuyler also seems to have missed his service, and ordered him on the 21st January to return immediately to Albany, where, he adds, "your presence is absolutely necessary." On the 3d February, General Ward, pressed by Schuyler for reinforcements, directed him to forward all the men he had recruited to Ticonderoga, by way of Bennington and Skenesborough, and urged him to the "most vigorous exertions at this critical juncture."

The recruiting of men and the purchase of the articles and stores designated in the return of November 3d occupied all of Stevens' attention during the winter. On the 10th March, Schuyler directed him to apply to Gen'l Knox, supposed to be in Boston, for any deficiencies in the estimate, and to make him a return of any other necessities for the artillery department, and called upon the Selectmen and Committees in the several towns to facilitate the conveyance of the stores.

Besides the recruiting of the artillery, Stevens had undertaken to fill up a company of artificers, which was placed under command of Captain Noah Nichols. Detained in Boston by these various duties, he received a letter from Knox written at Morristown the 31st March, conveying to him a demand for ship guns. He was requested to apply to General Heath and Captain Bradford for aid, and also to procure in Boston such supplies as were needed by the medical department of the Northern army.

On the 16th April we find him returned to Ticonderoga, where he is officially addressed as Major Commanding the Artillery; the same title was used by General Knox, in a letter from Morristown, dated the 1st May, in which he asks for every information which may benefit the service; acquaints him with the measures taken to fill General Schuyler's call for artillery, and advises him as to the establishment of pay for the Conti-

mental artillery, by which to govern himself in making up his returns. On the 24th May Knox again writes from Morristown, acknowledging a letter from Stevens of the 24th April, with Returns. In this letter Knox directs him to apply at Springfield for all supplies except round and grape; advises the sending of tons of grape and a great number 4, 6, 12 and 18 pound shot to Albany, and informs him that he had a furnace just going to blow for casting of various kinds, and would order about twenty tons more of grape shot to Albany for his service. He adds: "I am happy to hear from you and General Wayne that the detachment under your command behaved in a soldier-like manner," expresses his regret that owing to the "difficulty of recruiting" he could send him no more artillery men, and the hope that Gen'l Gates will furnish what additional number might be required.

On the 16th May, Wilkinson, then on Gates' Staff, wrote to General Gates from Ticonderoga, whither he had been sent to take post: "This garrison is considerably obliged to Major Stevens of the artillery, an active, honest and industrious officer; he directs the laboratory and will in a little time, if supplied with paper, fix ammunition enough for the troops. Your last campaign established a company of artificers under his direction, which you will now observe included in his return; they are an excellent set of hands, and will alone I think be able to prepare the wood work necessary for mounting the artillery destined for the post, but unless iron is furnished this will be of no consequence." On the 31st the same officer advises the arrival of ten pieces of ordnance which Major Stevens "tells me will be mounted in five days." At the close he requests additional large iron, as Stevens had already used all at the post.


In an original "Return of the Officers' names and the time of their appointments to the corps of artillery commanded by Major Ebenezer Stevens, dated June 20, 1777," his appointment as major is set down at 9th Nov., 1776. This corps included three companies and a company of artificers. This appointment appears to have been informal, perhaps contingent on the raising of the men. On the 22d May, however, he received his official promotion. On the Journals of Congress it is recorded under that date as "Resolved, That Captain Stevens of the artillery have a Brevet of Major, he having had that rank before his present appointment as a captain, and being a worthy, good officer as Gen'l Schuyler represents." This brevet was enclosed to him with a letter of congratulation by Schuyler on the 3d June. On the 20th of the same month the company of artificers was definitely established by Stevens, and approved by General Schuyler, then at Ticonderoga, in person.

How much the exertions and abilities of Stevens were appreciated at this period, appears from a letter of Samuel Phillips Savage, the Presiding Officer of the Massachusetts Board of War, who wrote to him from Boston the 30th June, in reply to a request for an Official Return, the nature of which does not appear: "It gives me pleasure to open a correspondence with a gentleman so well knowing in the matters of the army as Major Stevens, and if my weakly endeavors to support it, will give you any satisfaction, I shall feel happy."

While Schuyler was making every endeavor to strengthen his line against the invasion, Burgoyne was slowly accumulating his forces for a crushing blow. Leaving Montreal the latter part of June, he reached Crown Point on the 1st July, and the 4th opened fire upon Fort Ticonderoga, where St. Clair was in command. St. Clair had expected an attack from the lake, and had thrown up breastworks to strengthen his position, but soon found the post untenable. General Phillips, who commanded the British engineers and was familiar with the ground, ordered a battery of artillery to be dragged to the top of Mount Defiance, which overlooked the fort.

It is of tradition, that Stevens had, months before, expressed his fear of this danger, and the impracticability of taking cannon up the height being asserted at the officers' table, he settled the point in his own practical way by having a piece dragged up at night, and firing a salute in the morning from the top of the hill.

When on the 5th the enemy was observed in possession of this commanding situation, a retreat was hastily ordered. Stevens was confined to his bed at this time by illness, but continued to give directions to his men. A large part of the cannon were safely embarked on batteaux, those left behind spiked, but the trunnions were not knocked off for fear the noise would alarm the enemy. The retreat was almost immediately discovered and pursuit begun. In his report to General Knox of the retreat. Stevens says: "My orders were executed in such a manner, that had not the enemy pursued in so hasty a manner, I should have saved a very considerable quantity of stores, some small cannon, and the two eight-inch howitzers, which I had just got completely mounted; but at Skenesborough all fell, and I have only now to lament their fall. From that place we retreated to Fort Ann, where we had a brush which was much to our advantage; from thence to Fort Edward; after a short stay to Fort Miller, then to Saratoga;" where we find him on the official returns of the 19th July reported as sick. His was not a spirit long to endure confinement, and he was again busy at Stillwater on the 12th August,



reorganizing the artillery and preparing to repel a sudden attack. His requests to General Knox show that the work had to be begun almost anew. During this month he appears to have been occupied chiefly at Albany in the various duties of the artillery and laboratory department; when the time for action arrived, he joined his command in the field.

The precise service of the artillery during the series of actions which culminated in the surrender of Burgoyne on the 19th October has never yet been described. Nor has any account of the artillery service during the American Revolution been written. There is abundant testimony from both American and English sources to its great value. But for its efficiency Burgoyne would have broken through the toils which were laid for his army.

Wilkinson, the Adjutant-General of General Gates, describing an action of the 10th says: "The commanding officer of artillery, Major Stevens, gallant, vigilant and ready to improve every advantage, ran a couple of light pieces down on the plain near the river, and opened a battery upon the batteaux and watering party at the landing, which soon dispersed it; but he drew the fire of the enemy's whole post upon him from the heights, which obliged him to retire after the loss of a tumbril, which was blown up by the enemy, and caused a shout from the whole British army."

The precise and accurate Gordon, in his account of the deliberations by Burgoyne on the 13th says: "There was not a spot of ground in the whole camp for holding the council of war, but what was exposed to cannon or rifle shots. While the council was deliberating, an eighteen pound ball crossed the table." Chastellux confirms the story, and adds that the council adjourned to the woods.

By a return of ordnance and stores in camp near Stillwater, September 24, made by Stevens, and preserved among the papers of General Gates, the following appears to have been the American artillery force: 1 Brass nine-pounder; 1 Brass six-pounder; 10 Brass four-pounders; 3 Iron six-pounders; 5 Iron four-pounders; 2 Iron three-pounders, in all 22 guns. It is probable that this was somewhat increased later by guns from below the Highlands. The force by Wilkinson's return of October was 360 men.

The train captured from the British was a great acquisition to the army. By Stevens' return it consisted of 2 twenty-four-pounders; 2 Brass twelve-pounders, and 6 Brass twelve-pounders, taken 7th October, near Stillwater. 2 twelves; 12 sixes; 4 threes; 2 eight-inch howitzers;

5 royal ditto, taken October 17, at Saratoga, in all 38 pieces; with implements and stores complete for the pieces, &c.; five hundred stand of arms and a great quantity of muskets, cartridges, and a number of ammunition wagons, including forges, &c.

The efficiency and gallantry of Stevens were too marked to escape notice and reward. On the 7th January Knox acknowledges his return of the cannon and stores at Albany, "a most noble park indeed," and says: "I have a high esteem for you which is founded on the universal character given you, of a brave and vigilant officer, and have ever considered it a credit to claim connection with you."

The winter of 1777 to 1778 was passed at the Northward in making preparations for the next campaign. The defense of the Highlands was an object of chief solicitude, and strenuous exertions were made to get the cannon down the river from Albany to Newburg and Fishkill. Stevens' duties were by no means confined to the field or garrison; his mechanical skill rendered him equally valuable in the laboratory. In March, Mr. Troup, who had inspected the works at Albany, wrote to Gates, "I went with General Conway this afternoon to view the laboratory and park of artillery. The regularity conspicuous in both drew my admiration, and I believe Major Stevens is one of the few officers in our army who does not consider method as altogether idle and superfluous."

At this time Stevens was in sore perplexity. Notwithstanding his services he was informed that Colonel Crane considered him as of his command. He represented his dissatisfaction to James Duane, who visited his post at Albany in April, and threatened to resign and join as a volunteer rather than consent to such a degradation. Duane wrote to the President of Congress, commending him in the highest terms: "the conduct of this young gentleman in the field and in conducting the public works, is so distinguished as to entitle him to favor and applause. I trust as Major Stevens has undergone severe service without any promotion, that a suitable attention may be paid to his merit. He declares that he is entitled to retain his present rank as a separate command."

On the 3d April, 1778, Congress "resolved that Major Ebenezer Stevens, in consideration of his services and the strict attention with which he discharged his duty as commanding officer of artillery in the Northern Department during two campaigns, take rank by brevet as a Lieutenant-Colonel of foot, and that he be commissioned accordingly."

About this time he received from Massachusetts the offer of a brigade of infantry in the State Line, but preferred his own corps even with the inferior rank. On conveying to him the news of his brevet,

Gates informed him that he had been assured by General Knox that there were "the best expectations of your [his] being to succeed to the Lieut.-Colonelcy of one of the established battalions of artillery," and in the meantime he was to command the whole artillery of the Northern Department.

In the beginning of the year 1778, an expedition into Canada under the command of the Marquis de Lafayette was contemplated, and Stevens was fixed upon to accompany it in command of the artillery. Lafayette proceeded to Albany to take charge of the force supposed to have been provided, but finding that no preparations had been made in the department; abandoned the undertaking. It was on this occasion that his acquaintance with Stevens, which later grew into a warm personal friendship, commenced. A letter of Lafayette tendering his aid in getting the cannon down the river as ordered by Congress, compliments him for "his well known activity and zeal on every occasion." This work occupied the summer, during which Stevens was on the North River. Late in the fall he was joined at New Windsor by his wife, who but a few weeks before had given birth to a son. The occasion of the christening was a gala day in camp. The infant was placed upon a cannon, and General Gates standing as sponsor, received the name of Horatio Gates Stevens. This infant was destined to a long life. He survived till 1873. For his name's sake General Gates left to him in his will the gold medal awarded him by Congress, his sword, and the famous portrait by Stuart, which are still in the possession of the family.

On the 24th November, Congress again resolved "that Lieutenant Colonel Stevens of the artillery, now holding that rank by brevet be appointed a Lieutenant Colonel of artillery, and that his commission bear date from that of his brevet, and that he be entitled to take command on the first vacancy that may fall in the artillery. Washington enclosed his commission to him on the 17th December, and assigned him to the regiment of Colonel Lamb, to fill a vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Lieut.-Col. Oswald. When his orders reached him he was stationed with his command at Fort Arnold on the Hudson.

He joined Lamb's regiment on the 22d December and appears to have commanded it on the march from White Plains to the artillery camp at Pluckemin, in New Jersey, of the fatigue upon which he advises Col. Lamb in January following.


During the winter of 1778-1779 the main body of Lamb's regiment was chiefly stationed at Pluckemin. Colonel Lamb, whose health had been entirely broken by the Quebec campaign, was on furlough; the

command wholly devolved on Stevens. In March, Lamb being appointed Surveyor of Ordnance, at once entered on the duties of that station, and no longer interfered with the regiment. It is proper here to say that Lamb and Stevens were warm personal friends, and their families on intimate terms. One interesting incident of this period is related in a newspaper of the day. "Trenton, March 10, 1779. The anniversary of our alliance with France was celebrated on the 18th ultimo, at Pluckemin, at a very elegant entertainment and display of fireworks, given by General Knox and the officers of the corps of artillery. It was postponed to this late day on account of his Excellency General Washington's absence from camp. The entertainment and ball were held in the academy of the park. The fireworks, which were conducted by Colonel Stevens, were arranged on the plan of a temple of one hundred feet in length and proportionately high. The temple showed thirteen arches, each displaying an illuminated painting. The centre arch was ornamented with a pediment larger than any of the others, and the whole edifice supported by a colonnade of the Corinthian order. * * *

When the fireworks were finished, the company returned to the academy and concluded the celebration by a very splendid ball."

In July the army moved, and the artillery park was ordered to Chester, and thence to New Windsor, near West Point, where the army headquarters were established. On the 22d October, Knox charged Stevens with a confidential mission, that of proceeding to Hartford to construct three fire ships. They were to be of 150 tons burthen. Twenty thousand dollars were placed in his hands for that purpose. In November, news arriving of the repulse of Count d'Estaing at Savannah, the fire ships were no longer needed, and their construction was arrested.

The winter of 1779-1780 is known as the hard winter. The intense cold united the island of New York to the mainland and rendered the Hudson passable even for artillery, but the sufferings and privations of the army were such that no advantage of it could be taken. The army was in winter quarters at Morristown. The families of some of the officers accompanied them, among others those of General Greene and Col. Stevens. In Washington's correspondence of the month of January, there is a letter which relates to a dispute between Captain Rochefontaine and Stevens as to the possession of quarters, of which Greene as the Quarter-Master General had dispossessed the former to the advantage of the latter, no doubt because of the delicate health of the wife of Stevens who had with her an infant son. At this very period Washington complained to Greene that he had himself been



for two months in quarters where "he had not a kitchen to cook a dinner in, although the logs had been put together some considerable time by his own guard, and that there was not a place in which a servant could lodge with the smallest degree of comfort."

In March the army moved up to Middlebrook in Jersey, and encamped in huts. This movement was made to cover the important posts in the Highlands which were threatened by the strong occupation of King's Ferry by Sir Henry Clinton. In June Lamb was ordered to West Point, Stevens remaining in chief command of the regiment which moved with the army. He was at Preakness in July.

The French army under Rochambeau arriving at Newport in July, Sir Henry Clinton moved to attack them, and Washington at once determined to take advantage of his absence and attack New York. On the 15th July he informed Knox of his purpose, and ordered a movement of all the cannon and stores necessary for a siege to the North River. The troops moved from Preakness on the 29th, and crossed the Hudson at King's Ferry the 1st August, and found the main body there collected. For several days the army was in marching order, the "artillery horses constantly in harness, and those belonging to the officers kept in readiness; every man and every horse (says Thatcher, an eye witness) taught to know their place and their duty." Sir Henry Clinton took the hint and suddenly returned to New York, and Washington having effected his object, recrossed to the Jersey shore. Batteries were erected at Dobb's Ferry and other points, where Stevens appears to have made an ineffectual attempt to prevent the descent of the river by the vessels of the enemy.

Early in the campaign Colonel Lamb had been ordered to take charge of the post at West Point; and either here or at New Windsor Stevens joined him. He was at West Point when Arnold made his escape. Towards the close of November the Marquis de Chastellux visited the Camp at New Windsor and was received by General Knox, at the head of the artillery. Washington was present. The Marquis says "the artillery was numerous, and the gunners, in very fine order, were formed in parade, in the foreign manner, that is, each gunner at his battery and ready to fire."

Soon after Arnold's desertion Sir Henry Clinton entrusted him with a detachment and sent him to Virginia, where his operations were intended to create a diversion in favor of Cornwallis. Learning that he had made Portsmouth his base of operations, Washington determined to cut him off if possible. A plan was concerted for an expedition, co-ope-

rating land and naval forces. A detachment of twelve hundred men was put under marching orders on the 15th February, and the Chevalier M. Destouches was requested to protect the operation with a part or the whole of the French Fleet. The expedition was placed under the charge of Lafayette on the 20th. Washington's instructions directed him to march by way of Pompton to the head of Elk. Colonel Stevens was selected to accompany the expedition as Chief of Artillery. On the 18th February he was ordered to Philadelphia with instructions to obtain from the Board of War the necessary ordnance and stores, and have everything in readiness in five or six days after his arrival. The ordnance called for consisted of four field pieces, six pounders; three twenty-four pounders; one eight-inch and three five and a half inch howitzers, with ammunition and a travelling forge. In addition to these pieces, Knox sent him on the 25th, by Washington's express permission, the two eight-inch howitzers belonging to the park of artillery, which were carried to him "concealed in a wagon."

The expedition was to arrive at the head of Elk about the 6th March. Lafayette marched with his accustomed celerity. The 23d of February he reached Pompton and making a feint upon Staten Island moved rapidly to Philadelphia, where he arrived 2d March. There he was joined by Stevens with his artillery, which consisted of four companies. The command reached the head of Elk the 3d, and was at once put on board boats for Annapolis. This was not in accordance with Washington's views. Probably his instructions of the 27th, written from New Windsor, which forbade Lafayette leaving Elk river until he had "certain knowledge of the French squadron being in the Chesapeake Bay," did not reach him until too late. Destouches sailed from Newport the 8th March with his whole fleet. Admiral Graves followed with the British fleet the next day. The weather was heavy. When Destouches reached the mouth of the Chesapeake, he found the English squadron at anchor. After a short but ineffectual action, he returned to Newport. The English held the Bay, and the position of the Marquis soon became critical. A letter written by Stevens (1790) to Jeremiah Wadsworth and Jonathan Trumbull, a committee of Congress, gives an account of the manner in which he was extricated.

"In the spring of 1781 I commanded the artillery on an expedition to Portsmouth in Virginia, with the Marquis de Lafayette. The division halted at the city of Annapolis in Maryland. Our little fleet consisted of 90 sail of river craft; the British hearing of our being there sent two twenty-gun ships and blocked up the harbor. We remained there six

weeks, several councils of war were held after the Commander-in-Chief had ordered us to head-quarters, and it was thought impracticable to retreat by water; a majority were for returning by land, and officers were sent out to procure teams to remove the artillery and stores. They were out ten days and returned without being able to procure them. Another council was held and I proposed to return by water to the head of Elk, by removing those ships out of the Bay. My plan was thought impracticable, but Governor Lee, my friend, told the Marquis if the vessels that I took were lost he would pay for them. The Marquis then told me to go on and he would assist me. I fitted two sloops of about sixty tons burthen, with ten eight-pounders each and a travelling forge in their holds, and raised an awning upon their decks; the whole was done in three days. Manned them with two hundred volunteers each, and sent them out about ten o'clock in the morning, and drove the enemies' ships from their moorings, and thus opened the passage for our detachment, which arrived at the head of Elk by water that night. I do not know what would have been the consequence had we returned by land and left our little fleet and siege artillery behind, but it was thought by Governor Lee that our vessels would have fallen into their hands, and the defenceless city been plundered and burned. If Congress had known of it they might have honored me with a mark of their approbation. The Marquis wrote the Commander-in-Chief that time respecting my conduct. This I had by letter from General Knox."

Washington writing from New Windsor on the 11th, gives Lafayette "credit for the manœuvre by which he removed the British ships before Annapolis."

In a letter to Ben. Stoddert, Secretary of the Navy, written 15th August, 1798, Stevens again referred to this exploit. The subject on which his opinion was invited was the defence of New York harbor, for which the State had resolved to build galleys or gunboats. Stevens then said: "That he was confident galleys or heavy floating batteries could never be managed in this harbor on account of the velocity of the tides. I fitted out," he says, "several galleys in the Northern department in '76 and '77, and they were lost as fast as they were equipped. I have seen floating batteries which mounted twenty 24-pounders. It is next to impossible to move them, and should the enemy gain ground the men desert them and they are made use of against themselves." Hence, referring to the action at Annapolis he says: "I conclude that bodies which are easily managed are preferable to those which are unwieldy though of superior force." He preferred gunboats to galleys, and later sent a

sketch of one 50 feet long, to carry one 18 or 24-pounder in the prow, and a 12 or 18 in the stern, to be manned by twenty-five to thirty men.

In a letter addressed on the 2d April, 1781, to Stevens, then at Philadelphia on his return to camp from the expedition, Knox says, "I lament your being disappointed of an opportunity of exhibiting before the French and Mr. Arnold; especially after the great exertions you have made of which the Marquis has written in the handsomest terms to the Commander-in-Chief." This is the letter already referred to. In April, Lafayette was directed to leave his heavy artillery at Baltimore, and his lighter pieces with General Wayne. He reached Susquehanna Ferry on the 15th. Washington having authorized him to allow of the return of Stevens, the delicate situation of his wife requiring his presence, he proceeded to New Windsor, where he was again in command at the Park of Artillery. On the 17th of the same month, Knox leaving New Windsor for a time to accompany Washington, informed him that the command at the Park will devolve on him as the senior officer, and directs him to accelerate the preparations for "the opening of the campaign." On the 3d July, Knox again addresses him, ordering him "to have the Park and all its apparatus put in the most perfect readiness to embark." He says: "the matters with which you are herewith charged are so complicated and extensive as not to admit of particular instructions," and in fact they included the preparation of the artillery, the laboratory, the direction of the artificers, and experiments with new mortars at different elevations, besides the care of the ordnance and stores. Meanwhile, Washington had moved his head-quarters first to Peekskill, then to a point between Dobb's Ferry and White Plains, where the American and French troops went into camp together.

On the 2d July, Washington informed Knox of his movement towards Kingsbridge and of a proposed attempt on the British posts on York Island, the success of which was to be made known by signals. In such case Knox was ordered immediately down, "leaving Colonel Stevens to put everything in readiness to follow." On the 11th of July, Stevens was ordered to move the Park of Artillery by water to King's Ferry, thence by land to camp. This demonstration against New York prevented any reinforcements to Cornwallis, who was held in check by Lafayette in Virginia. Lafayette on his retreat to the head of Elk, had been ordered to reorganize in Baltimore and resume the offensive in Virginia, where Cornwallis hoped to find him an easy prey.

The arrival of a large body of Hessian recruits changing the situa-

tion at the northward, Washington decided upon a Southern campaign. On the 12th August he wrote conjointly with Count de Rochambeau to Count de Grasse, then at the mouth of the Chesapeake, requesting him to "send up the Elk River at the head of Chesapeake Bay, all the frigates, transports and vessels proper for the conveyance of the French and American troops down the Bay, and on the 19th, leaving the Northern department in charge of Major General Heath, moved the allied army in two columns, crossed the Hudson between the 21st and 25th, and marched rapidly to Trenton. The heavy cannon, ordnance, stores and ammunition, were already forwarding on the 2d September. Arrived at the head of Elk, the French and American armies learned of the blockade of the passage of the Chesapeake by the French fleet under the Count de Grasse. The forward movement on the 25th was renewed, and the troops transported and landed at Williamsburgh, where a junction was made with the forces under Lafayette. Cornwallis hesitated at Yorktown until retreat was impossible. The combined armies opened their trenches on the 1st October, 600 yards distance from the enemy's works. In the afternoon of the ninth, the redoubts and batteries being completed, a general discharge of artillery was begun by the Americans. The next morning the French opened their batteries on the left. The next night a second parallel was established only 200 yards from the British lines.

On the 14th the enemies redoubts on the left, which were troublesome to the beseigers, were carried by assault. These works being taken into the second parallel greatly strengthened the attack. In spite of a successful sortie of the British, the allied forces were so industrious that their final batteries were completed on the 16th, and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon of that day, the British position was covered by nearly one hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, and their works so destroyed that scarcely a gun was visible. On the 17th, the anniversary of the surrender of the capitulation of Burgoyne at Saratoga, Cornwallis sent a flag to open negotiations for a capitulation, and the posts of York and Gloucester were finally surrendered on the 19th of October. The news spread like wild-fire throughout the country, and it was everywhere felt that American Independence was finally achieved.

Knox was present in person in command of the artillery on this occasion; but the immediate command fell in line of rotation upon Colonel Lamb, Lieut.-Cols. Stevens and Carrington and Major Bauman. Washington applied the match to the first gun on the 9th; the last gun was fired by Lamb and Stevens' regiment on the 18th. It is related of Ste-

vens that, when cautioned by Knox against too free a use of powder and ball, he replied that the General need have no concern, his friend the Marquis would supply all deficiencies.

In this siege the Americans had 15 field and 23 siege guns, 24 and 18 pounders, and 21 mortars and howitzers. The French 36 field pieces and 36 siege pieces. The artillery captured from the British numbered 214 pieces, field and siege. Both the British and French were amazed at the skill with which the American artillery was handled, the more as all the officers except Bauman were native born Americans.

Washington congratulated Knox on the conduct of his command in general orders on the 2d, and Knox in brigade orders, by request of the Commander-in-Chief, thanked the corps, and said "the skill so conspicuously manifested in the management and direction of the cannon and mortars, have convinced our noble allies, and brought home to the feelings of our enemies, that the officers of the American artillery have acquired a respectable knowledge in their profession." Each of the officers was complimented by name.

In January, 1782, Stevens was at Burlington recruiting his regiment and preparing for the spring campaign. The command was again stationed at West Point during the summer, and was not again called out in service. On the 10th May he was one of those officers who "in the cantonment of the American army on the Hudson river, instituted the Society of the Cincinnati," of the New York branch of which he was later Vice President.

In July, 1783, he was ordered by Benjamin Lincoln, Secretary of War, to erect Magazines and an Arsenal, to replace the old State Magazine burned by the British. In October his wife died at West Point, leaving him with three children of tender age.

He was present when the Army of the Revolution was disbanded, and entered New York with his command on the 25th November, the day of the evacuation by the British. Here he established himself in business, and soon married Lucretia Ledyard, the widow of Richardson Sands. This lady was the daughter of Judge John Ledyard, of Hartford, and sister of the gallant Colonel William Ledyard, who was killed at Groton, Conn., in 1782. By this lady Colonel Stevens had a large family, all residents of New York.

When it was proposed to divide the United States into four great military departments, Washington offered to name Stevens to one of them, but he declined further military service. He was one of the largest and most successful merchants of his day, his enterprise building up

an extensive commerce with foreign ports, especially those of France. He was besides the Agent of the War Department, and at different times Agent for the French and English governments. He was Member of the Assembly in 1800, Alderman of the Third Ward in 1802, and Major General of the Artillery of the State of New York.

He was one of the founders of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order, instituted in 1789 "to connect in indissoluble bonds of friendship American Brethren of known attachment to the political rights of human nature and the liberties of the country." He was also one of the founders of the New England Society, organized in 1805, and was its President from 1817 till his death.

In all military affairs he was consulted by the General and State Governments. He was one of three commissioners charged with the defences of the City of New York when a rupture with France was expected, and their execution was under his personal direction.

He was the acknowledged representative of the officers and soldiers who survived the war, and was constantly called upon by them to seek redress or relief from Congress, and on all public occasions he was one of the principal military figures.

The person of Colonel Stevens has been admirably portrayed by Trumbull in the large painting of the Surrender of Burgoyne at the Capitol of Washington. The life size figure is drawn in a graceful attitude, leaning upon a cannon on the extreme left of the scene. He is again introduced in the picture by the same artist representing the Surrender of Cornwallis. He is here seen in the distance at the head of the artillery, of which he was the field officer on the day of surrender.

After a career as a civilian, as striking for its display of energy and judgment as his service as a soldier, he died at Rockaway, whither he had been taken from his summer residence, Mount Bonaparte, Hallett's Cove (now Astoria), on the 22d September, 1823. He was buried from his residence in Warren Street, New York, on the 23d September, and was followed to the grave by the Society of the Cincinnati in mourning badges, and a large concourse of the citizens by whom he was known and honored as one of the brave band which asserted and gained the liberty of America.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

A BUNDLE OF OLD LETTERS

I

Communicated by Jeremiah Colburn

New York, ye 21 Aprill, 1746.

JACOB WENDELL, Esqr.

Sr.—As commissioners are now appointed on the part of this Province, and others are Likely to be appointed for ye Western Governments, so that this may happen to be nearest the Center, if so I hope to have the pleasure of Seeing you, and could I have beene assured of that—as itt was offered mee in the house would have beene one, but as Mrs. Richard Enjoes so Little health, do not chuse any Employ that should call mee from home. The Occasion of this Letter is as you have often Desired mee to Look out for Chapman for yr house, I have at last meet with two Compettetors, and in that case itt frequently happens that one can gitt the full Value of the Comodity to be sold and often more.

Mr. Abraham Leffers Daughter is Married to Peter Cloppen who is a Sadler and keeps Iron Mongery ware, and Mr. Leffers that Lives in and has bought Vanderhuels house has treated with mee abt your house, but as a Prudent Purchaser, when I had told him yr price of £750 or thereabouts, asked Leave to have the Premises Examined before he Made any offer, to which I consented and then acquainted the Present Tennant of itt, that workman would come with some other Persons to view the house in order to Purchase the same, which gave him the allarm ; he keeps a large Iron Monger shop, and would be verry Loft to remove, as when once a shop is knowne to the Country, itt is a Loss to remove—

upon which he told mee he would give 20 or 30£ more than Mr. Leffers should offer, if I would tell him what that was, but that I refused, however Mr. Leffers' workman Examined the house and gave but an ill acct of itt, and sett forth abundance of Repairs wanting more than I Conceive necessary, as also the Vast Expence itt would be to make alterations in itt, in so much that He was Induced not to Exceed 450£ or the Extent from which I can Learne from the Son in Law would be £500 Downe—whereupon I called of Williams in a few Dayes and told him now was his time to offer, for that I had an offer made mee, and I supposed he had consulted his friends according to what I had advised him of Last time we treated—he againe offered 25 or 30£ more, but I told him that I was not satisfied with, but Insisted he should offer a sume, as Last he Did which was £550: and before we parted I gott him up to £600 in three Payments, that is £200 in hand and £200 the 1st May 1747, and £200 ye 1st May 1748: and to give a Bond and Security for the Performance on Mortgage the Premises which you like best. Now uppon the whole was the house myn, I cannot help thinking I should Stand in my own Light if I did not Imbrass the present offer, and that for three reasons, the house is old and certainly soone will want a thorough re-paire which will Exceed above £100. Our taxes will also Dayly Increase considering the Warr, and the Expence wee are at with respect to Albany alone this Yeare will Exceed £10,000, which is to be Leveyed on Reale and Personal Estate, and what would You suffer ware wee

to have a Vissett from an Enemy. I can assure you I would Jump at the like offer in Proportion for my Reale Estate, at this time; the House of Cromelins with the Store house on the warfe the other Day was sold for 850£ at least 20 p centt worse bargaine for the Seller; however Leave You to consider your owne Intrest in the case, and perhaps youl write mee and say I know you allowed yr brother a much Grater consideration, which I know to be true, but am of opinion if you Slipp this oppertunity, I feare youl have Leasure to repent, and not meet with the Like offer againe, so advantadgious, and its the oppinion of severall that I have spoke to, that he has offered more considerable than itt is worth, I Desire your answer for if he cannot hitt now, and unless you give him a Lease he Perposes to Look out Ellsware.

Pray Sr. Lett mee know if Ever an End will be made of Edmund Taterwell's Affaire, his poor familie is in a manner a Starveing, I have advanced him a small matter, I hope yr familie is all well to whom yr leave to remember mee as also to Cousyn John, I am heartily sorry for his Loss which I Look on the Greatest he could have meet with.

I hope sone to receive the ballance of Capt Griffeths money in such Goods as will answer, Suger Loaf at the rate you sent itt will not. I am,

Sr Yr most Humble Servt,

PAUL RICHARD.

Superscription

For Collo Jacob Wendell, Esqr.

Mercht in Boston.

per Capt Milkin.

II

Communicated by the late James W. Beekman.

New York, Octobr 13, 1753.

MR. ROBERT SANDERS.

Sr—Your always agreable favour of the 1st instant pr. Benthuyse we Recd with the 48 cask flour and the hogsd of beaver; the flour we have according to your order shiptd on board Capt. Danel Seymour for Caracoa who sails to-day. Inclosed you have bills of lading for the same; we have wrote the needfull to Diedenhon about it. Your hhd we have put on board Capt. Bryant, and shall consign it to Mr. Lubenrood, and write him as you desire, unless your letter to him comes in Season. Believe we omitted informing you of the death of Mr. Storke, who is certainly dead. We have no letters since of Mr. Champion but expect to hear from him Daily pr the Dover. We make no Doubt but Mr. Champion will continue the business as usual, and perhaps take in a new partner. We are exceeding sorry to hear you have so bad account of your Ginseng in London, but must say it was what we feared from the begining, we wrote you a few days ago pr Col. John S. Lansing to which Referr. We shall as you desire return Mr. Bogert thanks in your behalf, as you desire for his present of limes. Mr. Hamilton the Govr. of Phila. has not sent us any money for your account as yet. When he does shall take care to receive it and Credit you as you Desire.

Sr we must now acquaint you of the most odd, shocking and most meloncolly affair that perhaps ever happened in this province, it is as follows: On Sunday afternoon last being the 7 instant, between

the hours of two and three o'clock in the afternoon, arrived here from Sandy Hook in the man of war's barge and landed at White Hall Sir Danvers Osbourne Baret the then Governour of this province where he was Reced by the Genm of his Majesties' Council of the Corporation, and many of the principal Genm of the place, who all Expressd all possible Demonstrations of joy, from which place they Conducted him in great honour and gladness to his majesties' fort George: The next day being Munday, our new Govr. was observed in the morning to walk all over the town with several Genm with him, about 10 o'clock our old the then yet Governour Clinton came to town from Long Island where he has been all summer; at his arrival the governours Greeted each other kindly. Munday the Council had prepared an Elegant Entertainment for the new governour att a tavern where the old governour Clinton was also asked but Refused to go; Munday afternoon the new Gover— was also observed to walk about the town which he admired for being much larger and fuller of stately houses than he expected to find; on Tuesday there was nothing done till the afternoon, when word was given that the newe gov Commission was to be read in form. The next day being Wednesday the 10 instant, so that preparation were then ordered to be made; an Elegant Entertainment was ordered for him by the Corporation, so on Wednesday morning the two governours being in the fort where the Council were ordered to appear, when his Commis's was Read in the fort, then he proceeded from thence to the City Hall where it was again Read, in his way to which place as well as in

his return he was attended by the Council Corporation, all the officers of the militia, and all the genm of the place, as well as by all Ranks of People, that never was there so great a Concourse of people seen before, never such loud acclamations, nor never did a people Express so much joy on a Like or any other occasion; in the afternoon he din'd with the Corporation as before recited, but he Complained about 4 o'clock that he was not very well, and so went to his lodgins at Mr. Jos. Murray's; he was not able he said to go to the Common to see the Albany and our Bonfires, where was many Cannon Loaded to fire; however, the Council and other Gentlemen went which answered much the same, and this was the end of Wednesday. Thursday past off without any thing Remarkable;—but now to our mighty and great surprise, on fry-day, about 8 o'clock in the morning, this Gentleman, Sir Danvers Osbourn, our governour, was found in Mr. Joseph Murrays Garden, where he had hanged himself with his own handkerchief, and is Dead: he was bled by the Doctor, but all in vain; what Reason Can be Assigned for this we cannot tell, but believe he must have been Disordered in his senses before he came from England; however, cant tell what to asscribe this strange and unaccountable accident to.

James DeLancey, Esq., was Declared immediately thereupon Leut Governour in his Room, by virtue of a Commission Deliverd him by Govr Clinton the morning that Govr Osbourne's Commission was Read, so that in less than 48 hours we have three Governours.—Whereas your Gensing turns out so badly in London, &c., we are very willing to ship this hogsd

and some more parcels that you may []
to send down Gratis. Bryant's Bill of
Lading shall be sent you in our next;
have nothing more at present. Saluting
you and all yours, we remain,

Sr Your Affecte Kinsmen

ROB'T & RICH'D RAY.

Superscription.

Robert Sander, Esq.,

Merchant in Albany.

pr Capt. Benthuyse.

III

From the original in the N. Y. Historical Society.

Upper Falls, July the 11th, 1755.

Dear Brother—This is now the Second
time of my writing to you, altho I have
not never heard one word from you, nor
never had one Line from you, altho you
Promised to write to me constantly. I
am now att what with you they call the
carrying place; it is one hundred and
fifty mile to the Nor west from Albana;
their is too Companies of us, Capt. Wil-
liams' and Capt. Doughlass Companies,
one hundred and four men in Each com-
pany, and their is too companies up
above us att Swago, and the Rest of the
Redjement are Exspected every Day up
to us, and Governour Shirleys Redje-
ment is we hear got now to Scanacktoda,
and will in 7 or Eight Days be with us,
and five hundred men Raisd by York
are got within too Days' march of us,
that when we are all come together their
will be too thousand and five hundred
men of us. I am in a very good way now
to make money, for I have twenty Eight
Pound a month, and it is paid to me
Every weak, that if you are not Prudent
if I live to come home I shall have the
most money; and I have too holland

Shirts found me by the King, and too
pair of Shoes, and too pair of Worsted
Stockings, a good Silver Laced hat, the
Lace on my hat I could sell for four
Dolars, and my cloaths is as fine Scarlet
Broadcloath as Ever you Did see. A
Serjant here in the King's Redjement is
counted as good as an Ensign with you,
and we never Dare to be seen but with
their holand Shirts Pleated, and one
Day in Every Weak we must have our
wigs or hair powdered, and in a cap I
dare not never be seen without it is when
I am a bed. I Dont Know how things
will turn Sartainly, but att Presant you
may Exspect to see me in the fall if I am
a Live; but if you have not Listed I De-
sire once more of you not to inlist if you
can go waiter to any man that you pleas,
for I have found what the Difference is
between a Serjeant and a Waiter, for a
waiter has no more wages than a Soldier
and no better cloaths. Here I must con-
clud this Scroll now with Desiring once
more the favour of a Line or too att
Least from you, that I may know whether
you are a live or not, and so I Remain,
your Ever Loving Brother,

JAMES GRAY.

if you write to me you must Subscribe
your Letter,

To James Gray, att the Upper falls,
Serjant in Capt. Williams Company.

Superscription.

To Mr. John Gray, att Fort Masachu-
setts.

IV

Communicated by John Schuyler.

Saratoga, May 3d, 1778.

Dr Colonel

I thank you for your favor by Mr.
Fonda, and for the intelligence you have

given me. I had a hint some time ago that Gates would take the command in the highlands as soon as all was prepared, he has the luck of reaping harvest sown by others.

I hope to be down on Wednesday. My compliments to Mr & Mrs Rensselaer. adieu

I am Sir Sincerely Yours &c
&c &c PH. SCHUYLER.
Col Varick

V

Communicated by T. Bailey Myers.

Portsmouth, Sept 14, 1779.

Sir

I received your kind letter the day Col. Jackson's regiment passed through the town. I at first designed to send the miniatures by him, but as he marched directly on it was not in my power; the only mode of conveyance is that you point out, which I follow but fear some accident may befall it. The bill you enclosed is full sufficient for the performance, thank you kindly for that and every favour. I am sensible your own good taste will discover many faults, but sir, your candor will plead an excuse; the painter is young and needs the encouragement of every gentlemen and the instruction of all who have taste. Experience which teaches fools wisdom will teach me to improve, and the kindness of my friends will point out my faults; pray sir, without any reserve, write whatever you find amiss. I hope I shall improve by any hints you'll please to communicate. I want much to make some attempt in Oil Colours, will you kindly give me any instruction about the paints, method of mixing them, where I can pro-

cure anything necessary and what you think best. I write freely, because sir, you are pleased to encourage me; shall I hope to enjoy a share of your correspondence, pray indulge me. I know no way a person in my situation can obtain a total degree of knowledge of mankind, but by conversing with gentlemen of taste, who are constantly conversant with men and things. I cant promise anything in return but a greatfull heart which I hope will always be found in the heart of

Sir your obliged friend and

humble servant,

JOHN PARKER, junr

John Armstrong, Esqr.

A. D. Camp,

Gen. Gates' Quarters, Providence.

VI

Communicated by the late James W. Beckman.

12 June, 1780.

Yours of the 3rd May I received only the 5th instant, we are happy to learn you were all in health; may Almighty Goodness keep you all so untill we once more meet and enjoy the inheritance of our Forefathers. The Frowns of that Blessed Power has (for causes hidden from us) greatly distressed us, insomuch that we live in a Melancholly Day. But we hope and pray, that in the midst of these his awful Judgments, he will be pleased to remember mercy. A number of the Enemy said to be come from So Carolina (at which place they have raised the siege), came over to Eliz: Town Point last Tuesday and Wednesday, they advanced as far as Connecticut Farms; in their way they wantonly and crully Burnt 14 or 16 houses, barns, shops &c., and in-

humanly murdered Parson Colwals wife by shooting in the left breast. They intended to march off hand to Moriss Town, being informed that General Washington's army was dispersed to the Southward and Northward, and that the Militia declared they would not fight. But they were convinced of the contrary to their sorrow and loss, for only one Brigade of 1500 of Gen'l Maxwell's men with a handful of militia, drove them into Eliz: Town from whence they retreated to the Point, where they have made redoubts and entrenched themselves, and have not stirred since, except now and then a few of their light Horse have rode about the Town and back again, our men continually popping at them; it is supposed and own'd by the Prisoners that they lost, killed, wounded and taken, five hundred men. I believe we have 40 killed and perhaps 50 or 60 wounded. General Washington with our army now consisting of upwards of Ten thousand men are encamped on Short hills just above Springfield. Men from back of Philadelphia and all points of the country, daily and hourly coming in our Camp, so that in a few days we shall have a most formidable Body. Our People are in high spirits, and wish and want the Enemy to come out of their hole and to have a fair chance at them. The Enemy's numbers are considered to be between 5 and 10,000 men. Several Deserters as well as Prisoners have sworn before our Gen'l that Charles Town was Evacuated by the Enemy on 20th May, and that they came with others from thence, and immediately after their landing on Staten Island, were ordered over to the point to join Gen'l Kniphausen—it is said Tryon, that son of Vulcan, was

with them and that made them Burn so—they have, however, made our militia a great compliment, by saying they fought more like Devils than men. What they further mean to do is uncertain. We are credibly informed that Congress have declared to have had late accounts that a French Fleet may be momentary expected on our coast. May Infinite Mercy speed it and send them to our wanted relief.

I shall write you again shortly. In the meanwhile, I am, &c.,

AN AMERICAN SON OF LIBERTY.

6,000 men are expected this day from Pensilvania under Gen'l Dickinson to join Gen'l Washington.

To James Beekman, Esq., at Kingston, Esopus.

VII

Communicated by Frank Moore.

Navy Department, May 6th, 1814.

Sir.—I had the honor of receiving your favor of the 19th ulto., and very desirous, but unable to answer its object in the affirmative. I was willing to avail myself of whatever favorable circumstances a short time might produce to justify the immediate construction of the vessels in contemplation. I regret that a deliberate view of our Naval plans and operations which cannot be dispensed with, and which are of great magnitude and extent, particularly on all the Lakes, precludes the adoption of the plan at this time; because the present resources of this Department will be absorbed by other branches of the Naval Service.

I was desirous of possessing an approximate estimate of the cost of the engine, and all the machinery connected

with it, which would have enabled me to calculate the cost of the vessel and armament, completely equipped.

The estimate of everything excepting the propelling apparatus is perfectly simple, and may be attained nearly.

I understand that the cost of Steam Engines and Machinery of various power is in proportion to the squares of the diameters of the Cylinders; if this axiom is correct, all that is required is the cost of any one Engine, but of this I am not possessed. The estimate, however, which you have made of the aggregate cost of the vessel, completely equipped for service, I cannot reconcile to any idea I have of the cost of a vessel of the proposed dimensions and description; without Masts, Rigging, Sails, and all the multiplied objects of vast expense, which enter into the engagement of, and constitute so great a part in the cost of a Ship of War. The *Hull* of one of our new 44's built of the best materials, upwards of 1500 tons Naval tonnage, including all the materials of Wood, of Iron, of Copper (except the sheathing), of Lead, and Paints, with workmanship in all those branches, furnished complete, and delivered afloat, cost by *contract* about 95,000 Dollars.

The form of your Model appears well adapted to the purpose, except the depth, which might be considerably reduced, by extending the horizontal dimensions of the vessel, in proportion to the diminution of the displacement by the reduction of the depth; and as the pressure of Water is as its altitude, an equal column near the surface is separated with less power than at a greater depth. Indeed the draught of water may read-

ily be reduced to six feet, provided the space necessary for the Boiler and Cylinder would be sufficient.

The height of your vessel above the surface greatly exceeds that which is necessary for the elevating of the Battery, or the working of the Guns; the wheel might work through the upper deck, and still be protected from the shot of the enemy.

I conceive a serious inconvenience will arise from the thickness of the sides being greater than the length of the longest gun, from the breast of the carriage; consequently the concussion of the explosion will be within the embrasure, and must, by repeated discharges destroy the Breast Work.

You will pardon these suggestions; they are merely offered to be obviated by the fertility of your genius, and that in the event of the future construction of this vessel, we may render her form and properties as perfect as possible.

The Keels I conceive to be an unnecessary appendage, increasing the draught of water without use. If strength is necessary, that can be attained by stout Keelsons inside; and, if lateral resistance is the object, the vertical plane formed by the interior sides of the vessel or still better sliding Keels will answer that end.

The principles and practice of Naval Architecture, having been a favorite study and pursuit, may apologize for the criticisms, upon a subject on which you have bestowed so much thought, but it is the province of genius to elicit perfection from the objections offered to its suggestions. I am very respectfully,

Your Obedient Servt,

W. JONES.

Robert Fulton, Esq., New York.

VIII

Communicated by Frank Moore.

Nov. 5th, 1814.

To James Madison Esquire

Dear Sir.—On Saturday morning, 29th inst., the steam frigate was safely launched, amidst the acclamations of many thousand anxious and now well pleased spectators. She draws 8 feet 2 inches of water, which is 6 inches less than I had calculated. She moves easy and appears to have removed from every mind all doubt of her success. She is prepared for and will carry 32 long 32 pounders, served with red hot shot. I have the pleasure to inform you that thus far she corresponds to my calculations and meets my entire wishes. Her speed from the steam engine will I think be at least four miles an hour. If so, all nautical men agree that her advantages over the enemy's vessels will be numerous and important. I do not hesitate to say that from calm reflection the impression on my mind is that this invention practiced to its utmost powers must produce a total revolution in maritime war and the political relations of the United States with Europe. But this opinion will be proved either correct or erroneous in six or eight weeks, when her machinery shall be finished.

Thus having in prospective a vast object, and resting the following proposal on my success, I will with a frankness which I am certain you estimate more highly than any circuitous measures submit to your contemplation the means which perhaps may be most prompt and efficient for calling into action all the benefits of this new system of maritime war.

It is reported that Mr. Jones intends to resign. If so, and I succeed, might I not be useful in his situation for twelve months? If I do not succeed so as to evidently establish a principle from which will emanate a new epoch in nautical affairs advantageous to our country, I would by no means propose for myself a situation which required much energy of mind and great labor. But with success I should like to have the power to organize and carry my whole system into the most useful effect in the least possible time, for which purpose it is better to have the power to arrange and command than to spend months or years in the slow conversion of minds not occupied on or embracing the whole subject.

In the present state of the war our enemy with not more than 15,000 men to land from their cruisers on our coast, keep 100,000 of our Regulars and Militia under arms to guard our Cities and Vulnerable points, which causes much embarrassment to the treasury and loss of productive labor to the farmer and Artisan. Should I treat the subject as a political economist, I would say 100,000 men at 50 cents a day each on an average equal \$50,000 a day or per annum \$18,250,000.

Interest on this sum at 7 per cent. . . \$1,277,500

The productive labor of 100,000 men

at 60 cents a day each for 300 work-

ing day in the year—lost equal. . . 18,000,000

Total sum lost to the nation per annum \$19,277,500

That is 18 expended in resting on arms or non-productive labor, which might be advantageously applied in productive labor if arms were not required, and 18 millions of valuables which would have been produced by labor well applied.

It follows that nine-tenths of this expense on land forces could be saved if the Coast and harbors were well guarded. And it appears a reasonable conclusion that if we construct vessels which have Locomotion independent of wind or tide which can take any position in a calm and destroy vessels in that state of weather, a prudent Enemy would not risk to come into our waters to land troops or hope to reimbarc them if repulsed, when one hour of calm or light breezes would subject his whole fleet to destruction.

Hence if 20 Steam Ships were constructed at \$250,000 each.....\$5,000,000

The interest on it at 7 per cent..... 350,000

300 persons to each vessel or 6000 at one dollar a day each equal \$6000 a day or per annum..... 2,190,000

Loss of labor of 6000 men who might be employed in the merchant service at 60-100 each per day..... 1,080,000

Total per annum.....\$3,620,000

Instead of.....\$19,277,500

But on this subject my Ideas extend further than our waters. When we prove steam vessels of war to be superior to vessels with sails, France, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia and Turkey, who are minor maritime powers, will use them in their narrow seas against England and each other, while in the British Channel, the Baltic and Mediterranean such attacks on the present vessels will be their annihilation, yet steamships cannot act on the Atlantic. Consequently that and every other extensive ocean must be free, for they are now deprived of freedom by vessels, all of which are constructed and come from narrow seas, where steam vessels can act to advantage.

To this may added that when France again contends with England 40 steam vessels which would only cost 10 millions of dollars, stationed at Boulogne or Calais would convey 120,000 troops to England in 7 hours in a calm when British ships could not act, which coercion on England would produce moderation in her demands and more equality of maritime rights. Such is my view of this subject; if it meets yours and there is to be a new appointment, I hope it will comport with your arrangements and the interests of the nation to suspend decision for a few weeks. Not ambitious of office, I offer my services only on the condition that the Acts will enable me to be useful to my country; having thus explained, as to a friend whether presiding over America or retired to the calm retreat of Philosophy, whatever may be your conclusion, I shall feel that it will proceed from your better knowledge of political circumstances and of men more useful and I shall be content esteeming and respecting you as I ever have.

Please to accept of my wishes
for your health and happiness

R. FULTON.

IX

Communicated by Samuel W. Francis.

MR. MONROE.

Dear Sir.—I leave town at three o'clock to return west, will speed to New York. I inclose you the terms of a contract concerning the transport of troops on the Ohio and Mississippi, which is much cheaper than can be done by any other means. Mr. Dallas informed me that you conceived the plan important to Government, and any fund

could be applied to transport, he could furnish it in treasury notes, which I am willing to receive, if therefore, you approve the principles of the contract the papers can be made out here and sent to me at New York to execute. I have now only to say my whole heart and exertions are with the administration. All I ask is find me funds and give me the protection the arts and my exertions merit. The case of Dr. Thornton is very simple, if he is an inventor, a genius who can live by his talents, let him do so, but while he is a Clerk in the office of the Secretary of State and paid by the public for his services, he should be forbid to deal in patents, and thereby torment patentees, involving them in vexatious suits, he should have his choice to quit the office or his pernicious practices. My good sir I expect this justice of you.

I am, with sincere respect,

ROBT. FULTON.

Washington, Decem. 27, 1814.

JOURNAL OF THE VOYAGE OF CHARLES CLINTON

FROM IRELAND TO AMERICA 1729

A Journal of my voyage and Travels from the County of Longford in The Kingdom of Ireland To Pensilvania in America, Anno Dom 1729.

I Took my Journy from The County of Longford on friday The 9th day of May; Came to Dublin ye 12th Ditto. Enter'd on Ship Board The Ship Call'd the George and Ann ye 18th. Sett Sail the 20th.

Came to Anchor at Glanarm on The

24th, where Mattw. McClaughry and his wife and 2 of his family went on Shoar and Quit Their Voyage.

Sett Sail from Glanarm on ye 25th, and Came to anchor at Green Castle in The Lough of Foyle the 26th, where we stay'd till ye 29th; then Sett Sail in Company with The John of Dublin, bound for Newcastle in The Same Country.

Ditto Came In Sight of Loughsully [Lough Swilly] ye 30th: Sail'd by Torry [Tory Island] and Horn-head.

On the 30th at night a Strong winde arose yt Continued to ye first of June at Evening which Loosened our bowsprit with Hazard of our masts.

June ye 2d we had a fair breeze for Our westerly Course.

On the 3d ditto my Daughter Kattn. & Son James fell Sick of The measels.

A Strong Gale of westerly wind Continues to ye 10th ditto.

James Wilson's Child Died ye 5th.

On the 7th met ye Mary from pensilvania from wh She Sail'd to us in 5 weeks and 5 days.

On The 8th ditto a Child of James McDowel's died and was thrown overboard.

On the Tenth ye winde came to East and be South.

On ye 11th changed more Easterly and Continues fair and Seasonable.

On the 12th the winde Blew north & be East, a fresh Gale by which we Sail'd 40 Leagues in 20 hours—and found we were in 49° 20 north Latitude by observation.

The wind Changed on ye 14th to ye South, and So Continued to ye 15th, being Sunday morning; one of ye Serv'ts

aboard belonging to one Gerald Cruise threw himself over Deck & was Drown'd.

On ye 15th do. my Daughter Kattn fell Sick of ye measels.

A Serv't of mr. Cruises's Dyed on ye 17th and was thrown over Deck. the wind Came to be S & Continued a violent fresh Gale to ye 18th.

The 19th & 20th we had a south be west wind, on the 21st being Sunday we had a perfect Calm in Latt 27° 30.

A Serv't of mr Cruise's Died, on Monday a Child of James Thompsons Died.

On Tuesday ye 23 Child of John Brooks Died; we had a fair wind on ye 22d. 23d then another Child of James Thompson's died.

On the 28th a Child James majore Died and one of Robt. Frazer's.

We now have w: n: w: wind.

Tuesday ye 1st of July a fair wind.

July ye 3d a Child of John Brooks Died.

A Child a Daughter of Will mcCalihan's Died.

Do a Child of John Brooks Died.

July ye 5th Came in Sight of the Island of Corvo and Flores [Azores] which Belongs to the portegees the Lye in the Lattd of 40°: 09 north and 32: 23 west Longitude. A Child of James McDowell's Died July ye 7th.

Ditto Robt. Todd Died.

A Return of the persons that Died on board of ye George and Ann.

James Wilson's Child; James McDowell's Child; a Serv't of mr. Cruise's, another Serv't of his, another Serv't of his; a Child of James Thompson's; a Child of John Brooks'; a Child of James McJore's; a Child of James Thompson's; a Child of Robt. Frazer's; a Child

of Thom Delap's; a Serv't of Cruise's; a Child of John Beatty's; a Child of John Brooks'; a Girle of Robt. Frazer's; a Child of Alex Mitchell's; a Son of James majore's; Robt. Todd; a Son of James McDowel's; a Serv't of Cruise's, another Serv't of Cruises; a Child of Walter Davis; John Darbie; Thom Cowan; John McCay; a Son of Rob't Frazer's; another Son of his; a Son of Chris Beatty's; a Brother of Will Hamilton's; Will Gray; my own Daughter on 2 of August at night; a Child of James Majores; a Daughter of widdow hamilton; James Majore's wife; Thom Delap's wife: Alex Mitchell; a Child of James Thompson's; Walter Davis his wife; Widdow Hamilton; Rob't Gray; a child of widdow Hamilton; Walter Davis; Jane Armstrong; a child of Jam majores; An Other Servant of Cruise's; William Gordon; Isabel mcCutchan; My Son James on ye 28th of Agust: 1729 at 7 in ye morning; a Son of James majores; a brother of And'w mcDowell's; two Daughters of James mcDowells; a Daughter of walter Davis's; Robert frazer; Patt mcCann Ser't to Tho. Armstrong; Will Hamilton; James Greer Ser't to Alex mitchell; Widdow Gordon's Daughter; James mondy died thursday 11th of 7br; a Ser't of mr. Cruise's; a Son of John Beattys; Fran. Nicholson; a Sister of andw mcDowel's; A Daughter of John Beatty's; two of mr. Cruise's men Ser'ts; Margery Armstrong; A serv't of mr. Cruise's; Two of John Beatty's Children; James Thompson's wife; James Brown; a Daughter of James McDowells; a Daughter of Thom Delaps; a Ser't of mr. Cruise's; a Child of widdow mitchell's; John oliver's wife; James ma-

jore's Eldest Daughter; John Crook a Sailor; Jos. Stafford; John McDowell; John Beatty; andw McDowell's Sister; James wilson's wife; James McDowell's wife; Sarah Hamilton will Ham'tn's Sister; Thom Armstrong died monday ye 29th of 7br; John Beatty's wife; Isabella Johnston; Edw'd Norris; margt mcClaghry; widdow Frazer's Daughter; Andw McDowell's Brother; Jos. mcClaghry; mattw mcClaghry; a young Sister of andw McDowell's; Thom Delap and his Daughter Katherin; James Barkly—

Discover'd Land on ye Continent of america ye 4th day of 8br 1729.

NOTE.—The Charles Clinton, whose journal is here above printed, was the founder of the family of Clintons distinguished in the annals of the State of New York. EDITOR.

DEATH OF DIEGO VELAZQUEZ.

FROM NOTES TO SERVE FOR A HISTORY OF CUBA, BY DON FRANQUILINO SANDALIO DE NODA.

Communicated by Señor Hilario Cisneros.

This interesting fact in our history seems to be enveloped in the clouds of the confused chronology of the olden time. I devote these few lines to establish in a measure the certain date of this event, with all the more satisfaction because the materials gathered by the Historical section of the Royal Society, and published in 1830, in the first volume of its Collections, have left the said date an uncertain problem.

I believe that Velazquez' died at the close of the year fifteen hundred and twenty-four (1524), that is, two years later than the date fixed by Senor Sirgado in his ninth note to the Key of the New World. The Historical section in-

serted on page 453 of the first volume of its Collections, an engraving of a sepulchral tablet, the inscription on which states that Velazquez died in 1522.—Upon it, notwithstanding its injured condition is clearly to be read in its centre, HIC JACET . . . DIDACUS VELAZQUEZ. not so the close, upon the fragments of which put together with difficulty, these middle words can hardly be distinguished YVIT IN ANNO . . . OM. DXXII . . . and according to the engraving end in a crumbled border. It is by no means improbable that the stone cutter cut the figures IIII,³ and that the two last characters perished in the crumbling away of the stone. So also he might have cut the figures IV, and the loss have occurred in the run of the lower stroke of the V; although the first supposition seems the more probable from the appearance of the sketch. Likewise with all due respect to the author, the sketch may not be exact because of gross errors and carelessness in the inscription itself. In fact, the Society interprets it (and correctly) DEI OMNI POTENTIS AC SUI REGIS:³ MIGRAVIT IN ANNO A DOMINO M D &c., but how to fill up with a single A the space which the fracture occupies after the word *Omnipotentis*, a space sufficient for four letters? how leave blank so much stone after the word REGIS and believe that five letters are wanting from the word *Migravit* in the space of the fracture, which according to the drawing affords room for no more than two? How read the seven from the word *domino* in the lower fracture, capable only of taking three letters, and abbreviate it as you choose, yet something will be still wanting to fill the smooth place which

divides vertically in two the top of the shield? Nevertheless, the Society has imagined nothing. It has only given a reading which the middle words preserved naturally suggest; thus attributing to the drawing these difficulties, and noting in passing those which are to be found on the stone itself, Valdez copied it in his history, wherein it reads, if my recollection serves:

DEI OMNIPOTENTIS (*here the stone is broken.*) CUI REGIS, (*here also broken.*)² IVIT, ANNO DOMI—M. D. XXII.

This IVIT is a part of the word MIGRAVIT.

In the drawing, the border of the stone appears to be injured as far as the date; and it would not be strange that a part of it should still remain.

This investigation would appear unnecessary and absurd if it were not directed to ascertain the truth of history which this curious monument appears to contradict.

If we examine the facts which present themselves, it will appear that the most striking contradictions will be harmonized.

The ninth note to the *Llave del Nuevo Mundo* refers to this circumstance, speaking of Velazquez. * * * "His death was in the year 1524;" and Arrate quotes from Herrera, third decade, Book 7, Chapter II, and also cites Ynca's *Historia de la Florida*; and he was not in error since the following Chapter, paragraph 2d, reads thus: "In the year 1523 or 1524, after the death of the Adelantado, the King granted permission, &c., without naming any person," and Sirgado and Acosta confirm the quotation of Herrera. (Memoirs Volume I, pp. 294, 303, 305.)

The Society in regard to this last statement of Arrate, quotes an interesting document which reads as follows: "There is mention in a history written by a learned pen immediately after the death of Velazquez about the year 1521," (Idem page 309.) No authority is quoted in its support; but this profound author is of such weight in the historic balance that his assertion is an almost irrefutable proof.

Acosta in his eulogium on Diego Velazquez (Idem page 303) asserts that his dispute with Cortez was brought to judgment the 15th October, 1522; that Velazquez was informed of the decision in May, 1523, and that this chief died the following year. He quotes Herrera also—3d decade.

Everything tends to confirm the idea that his death took place in 1524, and we have besides the testimony of Arango, which ascribes the change of 4 to 1 to an error of the scribe or of the printer, because of the similarity between these two figures in the greater part of our old manuscripts; Why then has the date 1522 been preferred? Only because of the stone to which we have made reference; upon the testimony of which the present Cuba Court-guide assures us that the death of the Adelantado happened in 1523. I take the liberty to correct this passage of Arango, because this most faithful writer quotes history with which it can alone be reconciled by the aforesaid correction. Sirgado somewhat to the discredit of the famous inscription tells us that the year of the death of Velazquez "Herrera assures us was the year 1524; Fernando Pizarro de Orel-

lana 1523, and Captain Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo the same year." These are the words of Oviedo:

*"This Adelantado Diego Velazquez was one of those poor hidalgos who came over the second voyage to this island of Hispaniola. * * * Later in the year 1524 having resolved to go in person to make complaint of Cortes to the Emperor * * * death the final disposer of quarrels crossed his plans and his days were ended. * * * and so died the Adelantado Diego Velazquez. (Memoirs, volume I, page 362; Chronicle of Oviedo, book 17, chapter 20.*

This time agrees with that given by the same author in the chapter following, in which although not fixing the date he establishes it by enlarging upon various occurrences which took place on occasion of the resistance of Cortes to the expedition of Garay, the date of which is known from the letters of Cortes, of which he makes brief mention. It also agrees with that given by Herrera and, what is more, with the report of Cortes to the Emperor not only at the time, but also in its enchainment with the events which followed.

May it not be said that all these authorities confound themselves in one, since Arrate and Acosta both refer to Herrera, and he, writing eighty years after the occurrence, refers to others of necessity; thus Oviedo appears to be the only one who was contemporaneous, yet still easily disposed to accept facts from sources not very worthy of faith (Memoirs *ibid.* page 376); and finally that a monument erected in honor of a hero is more authentic than the pages of subsequent historians.

I maintain that although the modern Acosta is not named, although the laborious and close student Arrate be not held of much account, yet the wise man in whom the Monarch placed his confidence, who wrote with the archives under his eyes, and whom America held as first among her historians, should have surely more weight than a few fragments of broken stone. And even if it be conceded that he was in error, is it likely that Oviedo, an ocular witness, who, moreover, wrote his chronicle by order of his Sovereign was also in error? What! because he accepted certain facts which were misrepresented, shall he on this account wrench them from their chronological base and scatter them through another era? Of what service this stupid and insignificant anachronism to him? And further, how alter a date without confusing and upsetting all those of the succeeding events which it will include in its change, so many of which are important in the history of the conquest. But let the reader not yet form his opinion: I propose carefully to examine and collate other authorities of even more importance, because they are official documents brought to the high notice of his Majesty by the greatest enemy of Velazquez.

On the 15th of May, 1522, Cortes complained to the Emperor of a conspiracy to deprive him of his command and his life, and "to place the government of the land in the hands of Diego Velazquez;" the movement was a failure, but the friends of Velazquez were not discouraged. This affair in which the devoted Solis suffered accusation, imprisonment, sentence and execution all in a night; in

which the same Cortes confessed himself to have been at once the party injured, and the judge who pronounced the sentence of death; this affair which was so discreditable to Cortes; could he have had the audacity to suppose it directed by a person who never existed, thus adding to the wickedness of the case, the imposture of the accusation? This is incredible. (See Cortes' Carta de Relacion, page 316.) The most enthusiastic admirer of the Marquis del Valle must admit that he has here opened a fair field to his enemies; and he was not so senseless as to furnish materials to his own prejudice.

Temijtitan was captured the 13th August, 1521, and later took place the submission of Catzol (Catzul-tzin) King of Michoacan; then followed the discovery of the Southern Sea and the description of it; and on the 30th of October, he (Cortes) sent orders from Cuyoacan to Sandoval to conquer Guatusco, where he arrived *twenty-five days later*, that is, the 24th of November. *Fifteen days after*, that is, the 9th December, he asked permission for its colonization; and the foundation of Medellin in Fujtebeque was ordered. Others on the testimony of Cortes may stretch the date to the end of January, 1522. Oajaca (Huaxacac) conquered, the rebuilding of Temijtitan was begun.

After this Cortes conceived the idea of establishing a colony in the river of Páaneo near Tampico, and the expedition was already dispatched thither when the news came of the arrival of Cristobal de Tapia at Vera Cruz; which following all these precedent dates we must believe to have been in January or Feb-

ruary, 1522. Twelve days later the Governor of Vera Cruz wrote that Cristobal de Tapia after delivering his credentials immediately marched to the east; his stay in New Spain I believe to have been of a month's duration, or nearly so.

On the thirty-first of January, fifteen hundred and twenty-two Alvarado left *this city* (that is to say, *Cuyocoan*, for *Segura* was only a town) to conquer Tujtepec forty leagues beyond Oajaca: a difficult enterprise, because his force only numbered forty horses and two pieces of cannon. On the 4th of March Cortes received dispatches from him with advices of a happy termination of the conquest; in virtue of which he established on the Pacific Ocean a naval station for the construction of four ships. After the *fifteenth of May*, when the third Relation was sent to the King, Segura was transferred from the frontier (*Tepeaca*, *Tepeiacac*) to Tujtepec or *Tututepec*; and while Cortes was yet engaged in the conquest of Panneo a disturbance arose in the new Segura. This pacified, there took place the second rebellion of Tujtepec on the border of Panneo; which being suppressed with terrible loss to the natives, there arrived at Espiritu-Santo (the river of Guazacoalco) Juan Bono de Quejo, who was well known to Oviedo, proceeding from Cuba by order of Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos, *with the advice and consent of Diego Velazquez* (Idem, page 338). The Relation does not inform us of this date; but, considering the proceeding movements which I have purposely indicated here, I presume it to have been in August or September. Nor yet is it found to be fixed by the arrival of a ship by which Cortes knew

that Velasquez and Garay were conferring in that island with Admiral Colon against his interest and planning an expedition to Panneo; but I conjecture that it was at the beginning of the year fifteen hundred and twenty-three, because hardly had the said expedition arrived ere the Royal decree arrived also, by which Garay was warned "not to meddle with the said river nor with any place which Cortes had founded, his majesty being content in its being in his 'Royal Name.'" This was either the letter which was published in Cuba in May of the same year (*Herrera and Acosta citing the fact*), or in consequence of it, but before the government of Cortes was in judicial contention; I believe that I have a fact by which this date may be conjectured, noting in passing that I think the arrival of the pilot Bono to have been later even than the period which I have indicated. Nor yet are reasons wanting for the belief that in the middle of the year 1523 Velazquez sent to Garay from the island a "three masted vessel, in which came sundry friends and servants of Diego Velazquez" (Cortes, page 352), since in January, 1524 all the reports which the arrival of the Governor gave rise to had already ceased. They found the expeditions of Olid and of Alvarado on the point of starting; but in view of the Royal decree after the arrival of the said ship Garay crossed to Mexico; his son died in the revolt of Panneo and he himself was killed in a quarrel on the continent, all the Spanish garrison of Tamiquil perishing except a Jamaica Indian; Panneo reconquered, Cortes dispatched Olid to Hibuera now Honduras; the expedi-

tion sailing from the harbor of Chalchicoaca, near Vera Cruz, on the eleventh day of the month of January, in the year of 1524 (*Cortes, page 368*) and destined for Havana, arrived at Honduras." Can it be pretended that he occupied the whole of the year 1523 in two trips to Panneo! Alvarado sailed for Guatemala the 6th of December next preceding the departure of Olid, and on the 12th of January arrived at Teguntepeque: this may serve to estimate the time consumed in the other expeditions;

As the Relations of Cortes, after the manner of the commentaries of Cæsar, were written in the midst of the expeditions they narrate, there is hardly any other than a chronological order, and on this account many dates are omitted; those which he cites from time to time serving as inference for those which are intermediate. Thus on page 374 he says that the ships which he constructed on the Pacific were to sail in June; and on page 384 he writes that this was in July, 1524; and on page 399 he concludes this Relation, dating it in October of the same year. In chapter 14 of the fourth Relation, page 372, he speaks of the expedition which Rangel again conducted to Zapotecas, sailing from Temijtitlan the fifth of February of the year 1524; later Gonzalo Salazar arrived at San Juan de Chalchicoaca with advices from Velazquez and Cortes, announced to the Emperor that he had been placed in relation with Olid in these terms: "Arrived two days since Gonzalo Salazar, Agent of Your Majesty at the port of San Juan of this New Spain, from whom I have learned that in the island of Cuba, where he stopped,

Diego Velazquez, Lieutenant Admiral there, had concluded an arrangement with Captain Christobal Olid whom I sent to colonize Hibueras in the name of Your Majesty and that it was agreed between them that he should hold the land for the said Diego Velazquez, &c." Although this was but a vague rumor which Cortes could not have really credited, and though it does not prove the truth of the accusation, yet it proves the existence of the person accused; and very fully does he speak of him and what he thought he would do in the future up to the close of the chapter. Then follows another with political and economic observations, and the Relation immediately closes with the date, Temijtitlan the 15th October, 1524.

So far I have confined myself to extracts from the Letters of the Relation of the Captain-General of New Spain to the Emperor and King. I have extended it even to the point of tediousness, to give all the quotations which affect Velazquez, and to show the precedent and subsequent military operations in order clearly to manifest the inevitable connection of the one with the other, and the impossibility that all these dates are erroneous, as might be supposed if we only found a single event cited alone. It must be remembered also that Hernando Cortes always wrote his dates in letters and not in figures, except on one single occasion, the beginning of the second letter. But the enchainment of events and dates from 1521 to 1524, and his interest in presenting to the Emperor every thing in his power to destroy Velazquez, are evidence that this latter was alive at the beginning of the last named

year. Cortes thought of sending to Cuba to sieze the Governor, and wrote to this effect to the Emperor in October of the same year (*Ibid.* page 389), and it would be madness to suppose that he formed such a project against an individual dead two or three years before, and whose death by reason of his high command and his proximity, could not fail to be known to the court of Culna within thirty or forty days, considering the constant communication of Vera Cruz and Santesteban (Tampico) with Havana and Trinidad; which were the constant supply ports for the troops of New-Spain.

Finally, the conqueror of Otumba complained of this adversary and manifested his anxiety to cut off this source of all his troubles; which proves that he was alive when he wrote, which was in the year fifteen hundred and twenty-four; to which Oviedo, Herrera, Arrate and Acosta have likewise given testimony.

Are further proofs necessary? It would be necessary to revise all the chronicles of the Indies, to upset all the archives of Hispaniola which are preserved in the Royal Court of Puerto Principe. What is alleged against their correctness but an obscure stone, its date injured and in part illegible, which far from denying that to which history bears witness, leads us to suppose that its numeration may be continued in its border? Cast a look upon the engraving and say in good faith whether it is impossible that two II should follow in the broken border, where close proximity to the last letter leads one to fear that one may have been destroyed which went further. It may be replied that these are gratuitous suppositons. Nothing of

the kind. They supply a most plausible reason for the discordance between this funereal monument and the historic dates. Of little consequence is to us whether the unhappy conqueror of the *Island of the nine kingdoms* died in this or any other year. But it is of importance that the world shall see that in writing history we search after truth without regard to authorities, which to-morrow may prove to be fictitious. I would ask of any one, who opposes to me the inscription, where it is established in what year it was made? More need not be said. This is not a matter for passion, but merely for the establishment of the truth. I believe that the stone is authentic; that it was made for Velazquez; but made IN ANNO A DOMINO MDXXIII, and if anything else be read there, it is because of time and the carelessness of those who should have watched over the monument. In this manner history and the monument are of accord without need of new Alcazabas impostures, nor of calumnation of the chroniclers. I have said *I believe* on the evidence of the thing itself which is not self-contradictory, but if the doubt be pushed to the end, have I not finished with all the difficulties which may arise? May not this disputed stone have never been placed over the remains of the Adelantado? May it not have been raised long after his death to adorn the place of his sepulchre? May not the inscription have been dictated by an ignorant master, without sufficient information? The impossibility of this must be proved before this date can be accepted as incontrovertible. Historians and critics have had grave doubts concerning the epitaphs of Ataulp and of Pepin; and it would be nothing strange that in the beginning of our little stone monuments that should be renewed which happened to the first of the Goths and the first of the Carlovingsians. But I have good reasons for my belief in the said Cuban stone. Its inscription, rude and incorrect as it appears to us, is in such entire harmony with the ideas of the period, that it carries with it the seal of its authenticity. If the date is uncertain it is for the reasons indicated; and I should have been as it were blinded, but for the other lights on the question. It is not to be supposed that a blind and servile admiration for all that relates to Cortes could bring me to pile up all the subterfuges and sophisms Solis has in honor of this hero. I admire the conqueror of Tlajcala and of Culna, but I find in the life of this emulator of Caesar actions which, if necessity warranted, the heart must still refuse to approve, and I am not imposed upon either by the partial chronicle of Gomara or the studied phrases of Solis. And it is not the respect with which his unheard of achievements impress me, but the force of his testimony as a man, as an ocular witness, who wrote in the sight of his enemies, face to face with historians of his time, which leads me to my opinion, and at the same time the want of any proof to the contrary; since the only one which appears has not, unfortunately, the necessary weight. To him who is too eager to criticise nothing is invulnerable, but since Sirgardo, in the note we have cited, supposes that which I believe, I do not hesitate to say to the Historical Society that it may assert with

impartiality *that the Adelantado Diego Velazquez was alive in the year fifteen hundred and twenty-four.*

¹ VELAZQUEZ.—The name is thus spelled in the chronicles of the time. It should be written Velasquez as patronymic of Velasco, Vasco Blasco or Blas, which are all one.

² The tomb of Cardinal Ximenes of the same year as the death of Velazquez was inscribed in the same manner. It reads: F. FR. XIMENEZ CAR. FOL. ARCH. HISP. GUB. AFFRO. DEBELL. HANC SS. CORPORIS XPTI CUSTODIAM FIERI JUSSIT, & SEDE JAM VACANTE PERFECTA EST. OPPERIO DIDACUS LOPEZ DE AYALA ANNO DNO M. D. XXIII.

³ The copy by Valdez reads:

ETIAM SUMPTIBUS, HANO
INSULAM DEBELLAVIT, AC PACIFICAVIT
HIC JACET NOBILISSIMUS, AC MAGNIFICENTISSI-
MUS

DOMINUS DIDACUS VELAZQUEZ INSULAREM JU-
CATANI PRAESES,

QUI EAS SUMMO OPERE DEBELLABIT IN HONOREM
DEI OMNIPOTENTIS AC . . . (here the stone is
broken)

CUI REGIS D . . . (here also) IVIT IN
ANNO DOMI MDXXII.

NOTES

EARLY LEGISLATIVE RECORDS OF KENTUCKY.—Probably no State in the Union has lost by fire all the printed records of its earlier legislation except Kentucky; certainly the legislative "Journals" and volumes of "Acts" of no other State have so often been the victims of the destroying element.

The first permanent state house or capitol of Kentucky—*i. e.*, the first one built for the purpose, was in 1793-94. In some one of its various rooms or offices were stored all the volumes printed by the "Printer to the Commonwealth," except such as were promptly distributed

by order of the Legislature, in the years of their publication respectively. On November 25, 1813, this state house and these volumes were destroyed by fire. The second permanent state house was built in 1814-16, and ten years after, on November 4, 1824, it was burned, and all the accumulated volumes perished in the flames.

On December 12, 1825, at 3 o'clock P. M., a church building or meeting-house near the site of the burnt capitol, and in which the House of Representatives was at that very hour holding its sessions, caught fire in the roof, and was burned down, carrying with it the printed volumes of the twelve-month preceding, and many of previous years which the State had recently secured by purchase from individuals.

In the five years spent in preparing my recent "History of Kentucky," 2 vols., 8vo, 1,600 pp., I labored at great disadvantage in endeavoring to supply a connected sketch or outline of early legislation in Kentucky, because of the repeated and sweeping destruction by fire of the volumes issued by the state printer. I know of but three volumes, or years, in existence (and they in private hands), of the legislative "Journals" for the first twenty-two years of the life of the State of Kentucky, 1792-1814. Of the "Acts" passed at each annual session, I have in my private library a volume for each "year of the Commonwealth" from the beginning, June, 1792, to 1830—except the 7th, 8th, 9th, 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th years, or 1797, 1798, 1799, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806. I have purchased these from individuals, as I have been able to find

them; and would be glad to complete the set, if those wanting are in existence. The Kentucky State Library has none of the volumes earlier than 1810.

For the first four years, 1792-1795, both inclusive, John Bradford was "Printer to the Commonwealth." He was the first newspaper editor and publisher in Kentucky, and (excepting one at Pittsburgh) the first west of the Alleghenies, having begun the *Kentucke Gazette* at Lexington on the 11th day of August, 1787, nearly five years before Kentucky became a State and was admitted into the Union. The matter intended for that number was set in type on board of a covered flat-boat, then called a "Kentucky boat," while descending the Ohio river to Limestone (now Maysville), or else at Limestone while waiting for pack-horses to transport it over the great "buffalo trace," via the Lower Blue Lick Spring, to Lexington. It was called the *Kentucke Gazette* until the number of March 14, 1789, when it was changed to the *Kentucky Gazette*, in consequence of the Legislature of Virginia requiring certain advertisements to be inserted in the Kentucky Gazette.

Mr. Bradford was succeeded as public printer by James H. Stewart, editor of the *Kentucky Herald*, at Lexington, the second newspaper established in the State (1795). In 1799 William Hunter was elected printer to the Commonwealth, and so continued for ten years. He had established the third paper in the State in 1797 at Washington, Mason County, called *The Mirror*, which he removed in 1798 to Frankfort and changed the name to *The Palladium*. He continued pub-

lishing at Frankfort until 1825, when, desiring a life of less care, his friend, Hon. Amos Kendall, procured him a clerkship in the office of the Fourth Auditor of the U. S. Treasury at Washington. This he filled until his death in October, 1854, aged 84. He was elected a member of the Legislature of Kentucky in 1824, a mark of respect from his fellow-citizens of Franklin county which he remembered with pride.

William Gerard, alone or in partnership, had the public printing for the years from 1809 to 1817. His partner in the latter year was Amos Kendall, afterwards celebrated as a Democratic editor and as Postmaster-General of the United States. Mr. Kendall had a share in the public printing until December, 1825, when he was defeated by Jacob H. Holman. A turn in the political wheel took him to Washington, and his life was thenceforth much more eventful. At his death he left a large fortune, which cannot be said of any other man who ever held the honorable position of public printer of Kentucky. He accumulated but little at the printing business.

RICHARD H. COLLINS.

Louisville, Ky.

RUSSIA AND TURKEY.—In the height of the struggle between these powers, the following extract of a letter from John Jay to Gouverneur Morris is of interest, as showing how the possession of Constantinople by Russia was looked upon a century ago.

"Passy, 24 September, 1783.

"Dear Morris. * * While there are knaves and fools in the world, there will

be wars in it; and that nations should make war against nations is less surprising than their living in uninterrupted peace and harmony.

"You have heard that the Ottoman and Russian Empires are on the point of unsheathing the sword. The objects of the contest are more easy to discern than the issue; but if Russia should extend her navigation to Constantinople, we may be the better for it. That circumstance is additional motive to our forming a treaty of commerce with her. Your commercial and geographical knowledge render it unnecessary for me to enlarge on this subject."—*From Jay's Life, Vol. II, p. 131.* HISTORICUS.

HARRISON'S WIT.—President Harrison was a man of ready wit and repartee. On the occasion of his inauguration the striking resemblance to him of a New York gentleman then in Washington was observed by a bystander. To which the President instantly replied: "That was natural enough as their fathers were brothers-in-arms." The fathers of both were revolutionary officers. J. A. S.

WEBSTER VS. HAYNE.—In his great argument on the Foote resolutions Webster said that he had slept on his adversary's speech "and slept soundly." Nevertheless he admitted that he awakened in the middle of the night, and turned over the pages of murdered Macbeth to be sure of his quotation on "the ghost of the coalition." This settled, he slept and slept soundly. J. A. S.

AMERICAN PORTRAITS IN SPAIN.—I visited this day the house of the agent

of the Marquis de Campotéjar, and saw some fine pictures. Among others hanging on the wall were portraits painted on glass of Admiral Hopkins of Rhode Island, John Hancock, and General Sullivan. Portraits painted on glass were common at the close of the last century. *Grenada, March 16, 1878.* M.

AN AMERICAN ADMIRER OF SWIFT.—*Philad. March 29, 1729.* Friend Jonathan Swift—Having been often agreeably amused by thy Tale, &c., &c., and being now loading a small ship for Dublin, I have sent thee a gammon, the product of the wilds of America; which perhaps may not be unacceptable at thy table, since it is only designed to let thee know that thy wit and parts are here in esteem at this distance from thy place of residence. Thou needest ask no questions who this comes from, since I am a perfect stranger to thee.—*Swift's Works, Edited by Nichols, XVII, 261.*

PETERSFIELD.

A FAMOUS POST RIDER.—There is now living in the parish of Ripton in Stratford, Mr. Ebenezer Hurd, now in the 84th year of his age, who began to ride post from New York to Saybrook in the year 1727, and continued to ride for 48 years successively once in two weeks, and in each tour rode 254 miles.

This multiplied by 1,248, which is the number of post nights in 48 years, amounts to 316,992 miles, which is more than equal to twelve and a half times round the globe, allowing its circumference to be 25,920 miles, and is near as far as to the moon and half way back. A man might reach the sun, if he would

travel at the same rate, 14,490 years.—
New Haven Gazette, January 19, 1786.

W. K.

A PENNSYLVANIA LOCAL—*Greensburg, Penn. April 16, 1803.* In order to understand the object of the following communication, it may not be improper to observe that the little village of Mount Pleasant has, by some wags, been branded with the opprobrious name of *Hell Town*; and that the citizens thereof have adopted the following mode of abolishing it. Whether it will answer the end proposed, we will not pretend to say; but we cannot help expressing a wish that the scorching which his Satanic Majesty has received may operate as a warning to his children should they attempt to disturb the tranquility of the place.

"On Monday, the 11th inst., a number of citizens of Mount Pleasant and its vicinity assembled at the hour of 9 o'clock and formed the Devil in effigy, and carried him in procession, attended by a musician playing the rogue's march. At the hour of two they burned him, attended by a large concourse of people amidst a discharge of musketry. The intention of the above was to abolish the name of Hell Town, and establish that of Mount Pleasant." *Commercial Advertiser, May 2, 1803.* PETERSFIELD.

STORMONT AT THE COURT OF FRANCE,
1776.—

While Stormont grac'd with ribbon green
Keeps France from mixing in the riot,
Till Briton's lion vents his spleen
And tears his rebel whelps in quiet.
Gentleman's Magazine, 1777.

R. E.

FIRST FRENCH PROTESTANT BURIAL
IN QUEBEC.—On the 12th of this month died here in the 34th year of his age Mr. Joseph Senith, merchant. He was born at Cosade, near Aux, the capital of Gascony, but has resided some years past in this Province. He is the first French Protestant we have lost since the conquest of the place, and the only one that ever was admitted in it to the rights of burial.—*Letter from Quebec, Aug. 30, 1764, in an English newspaper.*
S.

INDIANS OF THE ANTILLES.—There are no more Indians in the Antilles. In the most populous of the islands there did not remain more than sixty thousand in 1508; of these more than three-fourths perished in the ten years succeeding, and the last remains were swept from the face of the earth long before the coming thither of the Portugese, English and French. — *Repertorio Americano, Vol. III, article signed A. B., on Cristobal Colon.*
S.

THE IROQUOIS FORT, (I, 572).—The editor of the Magazine was in error in his statement that General John S. Clark located the fort attacked by Champlain on "the northern extremity of Oneida Lake." General Clark locates it "south of the east end of Oneida Lake and east Onondaga County."
EDITOR.

CORRECTION.—In the notice of Mr. Dexter's "Question of Authorship" in the June number of the Magazine, the printer appears to have substituted a word, making it appear that Mr. Dexter lost his case, instead of winning it. The latter was the sense intended. D. C.

QUERIES

FOREIGN GRAPES IN AMERICA.—In Tailfer's narrative mention is made of an effort to introduce the culture of foreign vines in Georgia in 1734. This attempt was made by "Abraham de Leon, a Jew, who had been many years a Vineron in Portugal, and a Free Holder in Savannah, who cultivated several kinds of grapes in his garden, and amongst others the Porto and Malaga to great perfection." He proposed to the Board of Trustees of the Colony to have forty thousand vines growing within the colony in three years, and to cultivate them with Vinerons from Portugal. The Trustees accepted his terms, but Mr. Oglethorpe declined to carry out their instructions, "and so that Design dropt."

Is their any earlier instance of the introduction of foreign vines in America?

CINCINNATI.

WILLIAM S. CARDELL, the author of Jack Halyard the Sailor Boy, a very popular story book of fifty years ago, lived, I think, in New York city, was perhaps a teacher there, and died in Pennsylvania. Can any of the readers of the Magazine of American History give me facts concerning him and his career?

L. C. DRAPER.

Madison, Wis.

TRIAL OF JOHN HODGES.—I want to know where to find "Report of the Trial of John Hodges, esquire, on a charge of high treason. Tried in the Circuit Court of the United States, for the Maryland District, at the May Term, 1815." Noticed in the Port Folio for 1815, p. 232. In this trial Hon. Wm. Pinkney

made one of his remarkably able speeches for the defendant, Jno. Hodges.

H. E. H.

NICOLL HOUSE.—Where is the present location in New York city of the now destroyed but once "Nicoll House," the country seat of a former official of the Crown?

J. B. B.

GOTHAM.—Why and when did New York city obtain the appellation of Gotham?

J. B. B.

AUTHOR OF CANDIDUS.—In Sabin's Dictionary is mentioned a pamphlet against American Independence that is there said to have produced a wonderful effect throughout America and England, "Candidus, *pseudon.* Plain Truth, &c." My copy of the Philadelphia edition is corrected with the pen, mostly in the punctuation, perhaps by the author, as the corrections are followed in the London reprint. Has any one ascribed this pamphlet to Joseph Galloway? He was in Philadelphia at the time of its publication (1776). It was his habit not to put his name to his pamphlets. In 1780 he used the title "Plain Truth" on a different subject. The internal evidence is strong. Perhaps the name Candidus was chosen in reference to Galloway's "Candid Examination," issued in 1775.

F. BURDGE.

GOUGING.—In the July number of the Magazine of American History, p. 433, there appears in the Diary of Major Beatty, then at Louisville, an account of the "barbarous custom of Gouging practiced between the brutes of the lower

class of people here; their unvaried way of fighting;" on the same page he describes these people as "Virginia Gougers." Where did this inhuman practice originate and how far did it spread?

In a book entitled "A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue, the third edition, corrected and enlarged, printed for Hooper & Co., London, 1796," occurs this definition of the word "Gouge"—to squeeze out a man's eye with the thumb; a cruel practice used by the Bostonians in America." Is this a correct statement?

RICHMOND.

REPLIES

STEPHEN BUTLER.—(I. 390.) In reply to Professor Butler's query I refer him to the "First Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston," just published, and covering the period from 1674-1695 with list of tax-payers. Stephen Butler's name occurs on pp. 62, 120, 142, 158. This Report says "the earliest directory of the inhabitants of the town was published in 1789," and that the writers who have treated of the local history of Boston have not been able to supply the names of the inhabitants before 1789.

For the list of vessels which brought over the early emigrants to America, I refer him to S. G. Drake's "Result of some Researches among the British Archives for information relative to the Founders of New England, made in 1858-1860. Boston, 1860." A very reliable work as far as it goes. Also to "Original lists of Emigrants to America 1600-1700, edited by John Camden Hotten, published by J. W. Bouton, N.

Y., 1874." A work which the N. Y. Gen. Biog. Record says needs verification. Another such work has been issued, but I do not remember the title, although I have examined the book; a London publication I think.

H. E. H.

UNFAMILIAR QUOTATION.—(I. 574-) These lines were written by James Allen, and were used by John Davis in an eulogy on Gen. Washington, delivered before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences at Boston, February 19, 1800.

PETERSFIELD.

NEW HAVEN CONVENTION, 1778.—(I. 450.) The Continental Congress determined November 22, 1777, to reduce the quantity of circulating medium in order to support its value. They also recommended the several States to raise supplies for carrying on the war by taxation; to call in and cancel all their bills of credit (small change under a dollar excepted); and to appoint commissioners to regulate and ascertain the prices of labor, manufactures, internal produce, and commodities imported from foreign parts, and also to regulate the charges of inn-holders. The Commissioners from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware were ordered to convene at New Haven on the 15th of January, 1778. Those appointed by Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina at Fredericksburg the same day; while the delegates from South Carolina and Georgia were instructed to meet at Charlestown on the 15th of February, a month later.

The New Haven Convention met at the appointed time and prepared an act to be passed by the several Legislatures represented, in which the goods were named and an advance of from 25 to 75 per cent. allowed on the values of 1774; having finished their business the Convention adjourned on Monday, February 2d. The labors of the Commissioners were but of little service to the public, as Congress on the 4th of June following advised the repeal of the acts recommended by them.

W. K.

FIRST FIRE ENGINES IN NEW YORK.—(I. 574.) In the month of May, 1731, the corporation of New York appointed a committee "to agree with some merchant or merchants to send to London for two compleat fire engines with suction, and materials thereunto; that the sizes thereof be of the fourth and sixth sizes, of Mr. Newsham's fire engines." The committee reported in the following month that they had agreed with Mr. Stephen DeLancey and John Moore, merchants, at the rate of one hundred and twenty per cent. on the foot of the invoice, exclusive of commissions and insurance, and that the money be paid within nine months after the delivery thereof. Soon after their arrival a room in the City Hall was temporarily fitted up to secure them; an engine house was afterwards constructed near the Flatten Barrack Market Place.

Their first use was probably at the burning of a "joyner's house" December, 1732; the newspaper states that it was extinguished "by the help of the two fire engines, which came from London in the ship Beaver." On the 2d of Janu-

ary, 1733, the corporation empowered the employment of proper persons to repair and care for the engines. Anthony Lamb, the father of General Lamb, was appointed "overseer of the fire engines." After this period fire engines were built in New York, as appears from the following advertisement in the *N. Y. Gazette* of May 9, 1737: "A fire-engine that will deliver two hogsheads of water in a minute, in a continued stream, is to be sold by William Lindsay, the maker thereof. Enquire at the *Fighting Cocks*, next door to the Exchange Coffee House, New York."

T. F. DEV.

AN HISTORICAL PORTRAIT.—(I. 251, 394, 576.) The following letter, accompanying the donation of the Lafayette portrait to the N. Y. Historical Society, will prove of interest, as the statement is made that it is an original picture:

N. Y. 7th Oct. 1817.

To DeWitt Clinton, Esq.,

President of the N. Y. Hist. Soc'y.

Sir, I have the pleasure to present to the Historical Society an original Portrait of the Marquis de la Fayette, and hope it may prove an acceptable addition to the collection you are forming of the likenesses of the patriots of our Revolution; an undertaking in which I wish you all possible success.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your very Obt. & hl Servant,

Ebenr Stevens.

G. H. M.

FULL-BLOODED YANKEES.—(I. 574.) A book published at Concord, N. H., in 1831, entitled *Reminiscences of the*

French War, gives the phrase used by General Cilley as "*true blooded Yankees*." The following is the anecdote:

"At the battle of Monmouth, when General Lee was on his retreat, Cilley's regiment checked the pursuit of the enemy, and drove them back in turn. Washington, who at that moment arrived, delighted at the gallant stand made by the New Hampshire regiment, enquired: 'What troops are these?' 'True blooded Yankees, Sir,' was the Colonel's emphatic reply."

This is a famous after dinner story in New Hampshire, generally spiced with a little profanity on the part of the gallant Colonel, to the Commander-in-Chief. Its entire improbability is acknowledged by every close student of revolutionary history; the only mention of Cilley in connection with the battle of Monmouth is a reference in a letter written by Alexander Hamilton to Elias Boudinot, describing the action. After enumerating the officers who distinguished themselves on that occasion, he wrote: "Col. Silly and Lt.-Col. Parker were particularly useful on the left." Lieutenant-Colonel Harrison, one of Washington's suite, in his testimony on the trial of Lee, describes minutely the incidents that occurred after Washington's appearance on the field, but makes no allusion to the "full-blooded Yankees."

TRENTON.

SINK OR SWIM.—(I. 48, 133.) Turning over the leaves of Walter Scott's *Fortunes of Nigel* a few days since, I fell upon the following passage in which the famous phrase of John Adams occurs. "My father's son must no longer

hold this facile and puerile course. Live or die, sink or swim, Nigel Olifaunt, from this moment, shall owe his safety, success and honor to his own exertions, or shall fall with the credit of having at least exerted his own free agency. I will write it down in my tablets, in her very words—'the wise man is his own best assistant.' "

S.

BLUE ROCK AND CRESAP CASTLE.—(I. 513.) Blue Rock was on the east side of the Susquehanna river, at or near where Columbia now stands. Cresap's residence was on the opposite or west side of the river.

I. C.

Allegheny City, Pa.

DESCRIPTION OF MAINE.—(I. 513.) The pamphlet referred to was written by the Hon. William Bingham, U. S. Senator from Pennsylvania, 1795-1801. It was published in 1793. Mr. Bingham having a short time previously purchased a tract of land of about two millions of acres in the "District of Maine."

CHAS. R. HILDEBURN.

ADAM'S WILL.—(I. 56.) The query of D. C. respecting the remark attributed to Francis I.; it may be found in Bernal Diaz's "*Conquista de la Nueva Espana*, Vol. II, ii, p. 135 (English translation): "The King of France sent word to our great Emperor that as he and the King of Portugal had divided the world between themselves, without offering him any part of it, he should like them to show him our father Adam's will, that he might convince himself whether he had really constituted them the sole heirs of those countries."

DENARIUS.

(Publishers of Historical works wishing Notices, will address the Editor with
Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

BARNES' CENTENARY HISTORY. ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. By the author of Barnes' Brief History of the United States for schools. 4to, pp. 664. A. S. BARNES & Co., New York, Chicago and New Orleans. 1876.

This volume in five parts, with an appendix and two hundred and seventy-nine illustrations printed with the text, is an admirable contribution to the literature of the day, and is especially devoted to a retrospective review of the origin and progress of our American institutions. Part I, in two chapters, gives the early history of America from its prehistoric peoples to the naming of the New World after Amerigo Vespucci; the explorations and settlements from Ponce de Leon's first sight of Florida in 1512 to the close of the struggle between the English and French for the dominion of the Continent, which was finally settled by the peace of 1763; to this an additional chapter is added on colonial life. Part II treats of the war of the revolution in chapters entitled the Alienation of the Colonies; the Opening of the War; Independence Year, 1776; the third year of the revolution, 1777; the fourth year of the revolution, 1778, the fifth year of the revolution, 1779; the sixth year of the revolution, 1780; and the last year of the revolution, 1781. Part III, entitled the Constitutional period, treats of the development of the Republic; American Nationality assured, 1800-1820; Internal dissensions, 1820-1840; and the culmination of domestic difficulties, 1840-1860. Part IV relates to the Civil War, in five chapters, 1861-1865. Part V is devoted to the New Era, which in one chapter (XVIII) tells of the Decade of Reconstruction.

The appendix adds some further information concerning the Centennial Exhibition, a chronological table of the war of the revolution, and a reasonably good index.

Nothing is more difficult than to review works of this class. The author is anonymous. The publishers' names are sufficient guarantee that the work adopted by them is in every way what it should be, both in editorial preparation, in type, presswork, paper and illustrations. The Barnes' cannot afford, any more than any of our great publishers, such as the Harpers, Little & Brown, the Lippincotts, to go down the century with other than first class work. The earliest chapters recite a tale told a thousand times. In these pages it is well told, and the scope of the volume admits of interesting detail as to persons and events. The side-light thrown on history by later chapters on the earlier administrations

will inevitably challenge criticism, but criticism is not the province of such notices as we undertake to give our readers. We propose to inform historians what may be found in the books we review, rarely to pass judgment on their value, never to take sides on any historical argument. But we find no room for fault finding in these pages. They are impartial in their relation of facts, and just in the conclusions drawn, and even in the later account of the civil war we find no evidence of partial bias. The book is not philosophical, but historical, and we commend it freely as a well-prepared *digest* of the history of the country in the hundred years of its independence. From persons who have had occasion to use it as a reference volume, we have heard expressions of unlimited praise.

THE PEQUOT INDIANS. AN HISTORICAL SKETCH, by RICHARD A. WHEELER. 8vo, pp. 23. G. B. & J. H. ULTER, printers, Westerly, R. I.

The origin of the Pequot tribe of Indians is unknown. They have been by some supposed an inland tribe, who fought their way to the sea-side and established their stronghold in the town of Groton, and by others to have seceded from the Mohegans and established their independence under the lead of Pequoate, from whom they took their name. When Adrian Block sailed eastward from Manhattan Island in 1614 he found them located in the same places which they occupied in 1633, when Rhode Island was settled by the English. Mr. Wheeler gives a rapid summary of the feud between the Pequots and Narragansetts and their respective alliances with the Dutch and English governments, and relates the origin of the contest between the Massachusetts government and the Pequots, known as the Pequot War, which ended in the capture of their fort and their terrible chastisement. In 1655 the Pequots, having refused to amalgamate with the Mohegans, Narragansett and other tribes, were assigned to residence at Misquamicut (Westerly) and Noank (Groton), and Governors set over them. Repeated unsuccessful efforts were made to christianize and civilize them. In 1766 they were preached to at the cost of 5s 8d per sermon, but few were willing to join the church, preferring the favor of their Good Spirit Kritchian. The Pequots took part with the English in King Philip's war, and did good service later in the French War, where they suffered severely. Their populous towns have now dwindled to two small houses on each reservation, occupied by four families.

ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE FIRST PARISH CHURCH IN BOLTON, JULY 4TH, 1876, AT THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, AND ALSO IN OBSERVANCE OF THE 138TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INCORPORATION OF THE TOWN, by RICHARD S. EDES, with an appendix. 8vo, pp. 57. W. J. COULTER, Clinton, 1877.

Bolton, an offshoot from the town of Lancaster, in the county of Worcester, Massachusetts, started as a separate township and set about building a meeting house, the first act of independency in those God-fearing days, in 1738. From the sketch before us it does not appear that Bolton has ever been the scene of very stirring events, but to have plodded quietly along as a thriving agricultural community, doing her duty not more nor less than her neighbors. No record remains of her contribution to the cause of American liberty, and consequently there is nothing to be said on that subject. The appendix is made up of notes, chiefly of biographical interest.

ADDRESSES DELIVERED BEFORE THE DAUPHIN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN THE STATE CAPITOL, HARRISBURG. July 4, 1876. 8vo, pp. 85.

The one hundredth anniversary of American Independence was celebrated in Dauphin County with all the honors. The addresses here collected are "The Ecclesiastical History of Dauphin County, by Rev. Thomas H. Robinson, D. D.;" "Dauphin County in the Revolution, by A. Boyd Hamilton," and "A Historical Review of Dauphin County, by William H. Egle, M. D." In Mr. Hamilton's address we find the curious fact that the county contributed, from 1775 to 1783, one hundred and fifty officers and nearly two thousand patriots to the revolutionary army; an amount which exceeds in magnitude any contribution made since that period from any part of Pennsylvania to the military service of the country. Notices are given of many of the prominent officers. Dr. Egle's review is a succinct and careful account of the county from the time when John Harris entered upon the Indian trade, at the suggestion of the Provincial Secretary, Edward Shippen, and established himself at the locality which from him took the name of Harrisburg. His capital was sixteen guineas.

THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, FROM MAY, 1751, TO FEBRUARY, 1757, by CHARLES I. HOADLY, State Librarian. 8vo, pp. 652. Hartford, 1877.

This volume brings the Records of the Connecticut Colony down to 1757. So far they have been printed *entire*. We are now informed by Mr. Hoadly that the publication will be suspended at this point for the present; a resolution which will be greatly regretted by the closer students of history. Among matters of interest in this book, are the report of the Commissioners who attended the Congress at Albany in 1754; the petition of the Susquehanna Company for permission to purchase lands of the Six Nations with a purpose of colonization; the colonization schemes of Samuel Hazard, of Philadelphia, later the Continental Postmaster; the opening of the French war; the grant to the College of New Jersey of a lottery scheme, by which to erect their buildings, which had been repeatedly refused in that province. An Appendix contains a census of 1756, lists of the shipping and answers to the Board of Trade. As usual a full index. We suggest that if this, the tenth volume, is to close the first series, that a general index to them be now published. These publications, under the admirable editorial supervision of Messrs. J. Hammond Trumbull, and his successor Mr. Hoadly, are models in this class of publication.

ORATION OF MR. JOHN W. FORNEY AT THE 101ST CELEBRATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1877, in the International Exhibition Building, Fairmount Park. 8vo, pp. 23. VALLETTE, HASLAM & CO., Philadelphia, 1877.

We are not yet through with notices of the Centennial celebration of last year, and here in the very first days of July we have the beginning of a new series, and Philadelphia leads the way. We need only say that if those to come after are as pleasant reading as this from the practiced pen of our veteran friend we shall be content. The text of this paper is the power of iron and the results of mechanical industry. The Stone Age reaches back to the prehistoric period before the mountains were upheaved. In the age of bronze we find the origin of metallurgy. That of iron still endures throughout the world. The man on horseback who rules the material world is the engineer; the horse, the iron horse, marvellous in strength and speed, of which the monster Corliss engine is the best existing type.

LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF PROTECTION IN THE UNITED STATES, delivered before the International Free Trade Alliance by W. G. Sumner, Professor in Yale College. 8vo, pp. 64. Published for the International Free Trade Alliance by G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. New York, 1877.

The believers in free trade or rather the opponents of a protective system have certainly adopted the true method of action in the alliance they have formed. The success of Cobden's League for the repeal of the Corn Laws in England, which, beginning with a corporal's guard, in a few years controlled the Ministry and directed the policy of Great Britain, is an evidence of what can be done by a corporation of earnest, determined men with right on their side. Mr. Sumner's lectures present a sketch of the origin of the American system, as the high tariff principle has been unfortunately called, and of the vacillations of our legislation. Just prior to the rebellion the country had nearly emerged from the protective period. It had certainly prospered under the mild tariff of 1844, which was hardly more than a revenue tariff. The exigencies of the war were the cause of an instantaneous change. Money was necessary, and only tariffs could supply the enormous sums demanded by the colossal contest. It is easy to find the causes of the present disorders in the industrial world, not so easy to find a cure. Certainly the tariff must be modified. Even Pennsylvania and New England have been protected to the point of ruin.

We are somewhat surprised to find merely a casual allusion to the memorial of the Committee of the Free Trade Convention, which met in Philadelphia in September and October, 1831, who were charged to propose a memorial to Congress remonstrating against the existing tariff. Mr. Sumner says it was 'clear and sound, setting forth the simple principles which are all truisms;' it was drawn by Albert Gallatin, the most able political economist and financier we have ever had in this country; its general arguments are models of lucid statement, and its conclusions, whether minor or general, are unanswerable. We commend it to all as a model in style and method, and as by far the ablest document of its character ever published in the United States. Mr. Gallatin was of opinion that no duty should exceed twenty-five per cent. of the value, and that our average of twenty per cent. was sufficiently large.

The great truism which Mr. Gallatin admirably states, is that the immense majority of any nation "pursues only such industries as are ever attended with profit," but that "it happens quite otherwise when from any peculiar circumstances the Legislature is unfortunately induced to interfere in the pursuits of industry instead of confining its care to that of providing by wise laws for the security and equal protection of the personal rights of the individual." Never were words more timely than these are to-day, when society is jarred by disorders which have arisen from the want of attention to the salutary wisdom they so admirably express.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GRAND LODGE OF THE MOST ANCIENT AND HONORABLE FRATERNITY OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS. Special Communication, March 8, 1877. Quarterly Communication, March 14, 1877, and Special Communication, March 23, 1877. Ordered to be read in all the Lodges. 8vo, pp. 175. ROCKWOOD & CHURCHILL, Boston, 1877.

These Communications appear to be what in the outer world are termed meetings. At that of the 8th March, held at the Masonic Temple, A. L., 5877, the one hundredth anniversary of the organization of the Massachusetts Grand Lodge as a sovereign and independent Grand Lodge, was celebrated. From the address of the Grand Master it appears that the St. John's Grand Lodge was organized in 1733 by warrant from an English Lodge. Interrupted by the revolution, it was reorganized in 1790. We find good patriotic names among its members. R. W. Charles Levi Woodbury gives a glowing account of the part taken by the members of the Lodge in the national struggle. Paul Revere was of its number, and John Rowe, the Grand Master, was of the "Committee of Safety." The Grand Lodge met at the Green Dragon Tavern.

The Communications of March 14th and 23d are of no interest except to the initiated.

REPORTS OF FOREIGN SOCIETIES ON AWARDING MEDALS TO THE AMERICAN ARCTIC EXPLORERS, KANE, HAYES, HALL. 8vo, pp. 70. U. S. Naval Observatory, 1876.

A Government report, prepared by Professor Nourse of the U. S. Naval Observatory, reciting the presentation of the medal awarded by the Royal Geographical Society of London to E. H. Kane in 1856; that of the prize of the Société de Géographie de Paris awarded to the same in 1858; the presentation to Dr. Hayes of the Patron's Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society of London in 1867, and of a medal by the Paris Society in 1869; and finally of the award of the Roquette Prize to Captain C. F. Hall by the Paris Society. The American flag in these expeditions to the Northern and that of Wilkes to the Southern Seas, has floated as near each pole of the globe as human energy could carry it. So says the French report, but human energy has not yet "said its last word" on this subject. The poles will yet be reached, and scientific observations take the place of conjectural approximations.

A NARRATIVE OF THE CAPTIVITY OF LUKE SWETLAND IN 1778 AND 1779 AMONG

THE SENECA INDIANS. Written by himself. (Edited by A. O. OSBORN.) Small 8vo, pp. 38. Waterville, N. Y., 1875.

A few days after the battle of Wyoming, in the summer of 1778, Swetland was captured by a party of Senecas and carried to the Indian village of Appletown in the present town of Romulus, on Seneca Lake. The narrative has no historical importance, but is interesting as a truthful personal narrative. It bears curious testimony to the savage habits of the Iroquois. Mr. Osborn contributes some genealogic notes upon the Swetland family, which was of Connecticut origin.

MINUTES, SERMONS AND REPORTS OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES IN MAINE, SEMI-CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY AND SIXTY-NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MAINE MISSIONARY SOCIETY. 8vo, pp. 272. 1876.

The interesting feature of this volume, which is full of statistical matter and records valuable to those directly concerned, is the discourse delivered at the anniversary, June 28, 1876, by Professor Alpheus S. Packard, of Bowdoin College. It is full of biographical reminiscences of the distinguished ministers of the organization, clerical and lay, during the half century. As these records of experience pour in upon us the extent of the labor performed last year in the gathering of observations of the past and preparation for a "New Departure" in the next century becomes manifest. Such a year of "recueillement" as the French happily term this sedate inward examination can not but be of great profit to the entire country.

FERGUSON'S ANECDOTICAL GUIDE TO MEXICO, with a Map of the Railways. Historical, Geological, Archæological and Critical. Small 4to, double column, pp. 128. CLAXTON, REMSEN & HAFFELFINGER, Philadelphia, 1877.

A curious little guide book, containing invaluable information for any traveler in this direction. It is essentially devoted to the railway service, with excellent instruction as to what to see and how to see it in and about Vera Cruz and the City of Mexico.

FARRAR'S ILLUSTRATED GUIDE TO RANGELEY AND RICHARDSON LAKES. Small 8vo, pp. 127. Revised edition, 1877.

The extraordinary beauty of the lake and mountain region of Maine has until recently been known to few except by report of some returned sportsmen with catches of marvelous trout. A

charming article in Harper's Magazine for June on the Androscoggin Lakes has turned public attention towards the Pine Tree State. From this we learn the extent of this vast lake region, which would certainly be a Paradise but for the black flies. For pedestrian or sportsman Mr. Farrar's volume will prove a trustworthy and valuable companion.

HISTORICAL ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION IN EASTHAMPTON, MASS., JULY 4, 1876, by Rev. PAYSON W. LYMAN. 8vo, pp. 100. CLARK W. BRYAN & Co., Springfield, 1877.

It would be a mistake to suppose that this sketch alone refers to Easthampton. It concerns Northampton quite as much as her daughter. In addition to the sketch proper, published by authority of Easthampton, there is an appendix entitled the Belchertown War Record, giving an account of her services in the Revolution. The sketch shows the practiced hand of the reverend author both in its style and method of treatment.

GENEALOGY OF THE DESCENDANTS OF DR. WILLIAM SHIPPEN THE ELDER OF PHILADELPHIA, MEMBER OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, by ROBERDEAU BUCHANAN. Privately printed. 8vo, pp. 16. JOSEPH L. PEARSON, printer, Washington, 1877.

This short genealogy is announced by the author to be intended merely as a continuation of that published in 1855 by the late Thomas Balch, entitled Letters and Papers relating to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania, with some notices of the writers. The author establishes the distinction between the two William Shippens, which has already been noticed in an article in this Magazine.

GREENES OF WARWICK IN COLONIAL HISTORY. Read before the Rhode Island Historical Society, February 27, 1877, by HENRY E. TURNER, M. D. 8vo, pp. 68. DAVIS & PITMAN, printers, Newport. 1877.

This is a running account of John Greene, surgeon, who emigrated from Salisbury, Wiltshire, England, and died at Warwick, Rhode Island, in 1658; and of his descendants, two of whom in the fourth and fifth generation were Governors of Rhode Island. General Greene of Revolutionary memory was in another line of descent from the same source. There is a great deal of useful information conveyed in a simple and unpretentious manner. Dr. Turner is severe upon the "monstrous aggressions" of his Massachusetts neighbors.

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THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY

ON the sixth of August the citizens of the Mohawk Valley commemorated at Oriskany with appropriate exercises the whole series of events which made that valley so famous and so ill-fated during the Revolution. One hundred years ago on the day and the place of this celebration was fought the most singular battle of the Revolution. But the battle of Oriskany, in spite of its singular features and its important relation to the campaign of 1777 in Northern New York, is one of which history has thus far barely taken cognizance. It was fought on the uttermost borders of the wilderness by rural soldiers, and the brave commander of the Americans died of his wounds before he had time to write an official account of his victory. But for the industrious zeal of such local historians as Stone, Simms, Campbell and Benton we should have lost all clew to its details. It is remarkable that we have to go to British historians for the most comprehensive summary of its effects.

In recalling the forgotten or overlooked importance of the battle of Oriskany, I have the authority of Burgoyne on the one hand and of General Philip Schuyler on the other for the inference that without the successful defense of Fort Stanwix,¹ there could have been no Saratoga. The whole result of the Revolution may therefore be said to have turned upon the campaign against St. Leger, in the Mohawk Valley. The historians of that year have failed to catch and dwell upon this fact. The English historians have more generally appreciated the importance of the St. Leger campaign than our own. This is natural, for in the Whitehall councils of Lord George Germain, where every detail of the expedition was carefully arranged the year before, it was understood that the success of the three-sided campaign against New York might turn upon the success of this branch of it; and Burgoyne, in his defense, did not

hesitate to hint that he might have been saved the necessity of capitulation had he received the expected succor of St. Leger. On the other hand, the Continental Congress from first to last manifested an incomprehensible indifference to the defense of the Mohawk Valley. Neither its deliberations nor its preparations indicate realization of the fact that it was the key to Albany and the Hudson. The valley was left to its fate. At the last moment, when Schuyler, apprised of St. Leger's advance and the Oriskany battle, insisted upon detaching the army of relief under Arnold, he was accused by his council of officers of thick-headedness and treason.


The miscarriage of St. Leger's expedition was due to the miscalculation of the home government which planned it. The force under his command was a picked one, but altogether too small. There were three good reasons to excuse and explain this blunder. First, St. Leger's advance was through an unprotected country and against undisciplined forces; second, it was expected, upon the positive assertions of Sir John Johnson, that at every step of his progress his army would be swelled by a rising tide of Mohawk Valley loyalists, until it should reach Albany, an irresistible force, sweeping all before it, and cutting off the last retreat of the army which held the sources of the Hudson against Burgoyne; third, the alliance of the warlike tribes of the Six Nations was relied upon as insuring a sufficient augmentation of forces and a terribly effective cooperation.

Never did a brilliant plan more miserably miscarry. Each of these three expectations failed in turn. British authorities are silent at the chagrin of the Government over this miscarriage, for it was due almost wholly to the bad judgment of the Government. St. Leger did every thing in the power of a single man to carry out his instructions. At no point in his conduct of the campaign was he open to the criticism of his superiors. The people of the Mohawk Valley execrate the memory of Sir John Johnson with hearty Dutch hatred. But they are nevertheless indebted to his over-sanguine representations and his blinded judgment for the slight preparation made to subdue their valley. The most interesting study which this subject presents may be found in the reasons why these three expectations proved to be false.

Oriskany was the first battle of the revolutionary war in which an untrained militia proved its prowess and availability. I have been much interested in tracing the antecedents of the eight hundred men who rallied to the call of General Nicholas Herkimer, followed him into the ambushade

at Oriskany, stood their ground when assailed by an invisible and savage enemy, and fought for five hours until the field was theirs. History made no record of the names of these men ; but from family records and local chronicles we know that the army of General Herkimer consisted of four regiments of the militia of Tryon county, containing barely a hundred men each, and reenforced by a motley crowd of volunteers, among whom were many members of the Committee of Safety, physicians, lawyers, and at least one member of the Legislature. Officers and privates were civilians, though some had tasted of war in the French invasion of '58. With but few exceptions they were farmers, and were chiefly the descendants of the Palatines, who had moved up the valley shortly after the immigration of 1709. The privates were almost to a man land owners or sons of land owners. Frequent Indian raids had rendered the Tryon county farmers familiar with the use of arms. When called together by the proclamation of General Herkimer, July 17, they were harvesting their hay—a war process in itself. In each locality the farmers assembled in bodies, and cut and housed the hay of the farms in routine order, part of the men standing guard with muskets loaded and cocked against a sudden foray of Indians or tories as the case might be.

In the midst of this martial agriculture came the news that Fort Stanwix was invested. They knew that if they did not succor it their crops would be housed for the benefit of the enemy. They all went. Every loyal farm house was denuded of men. Among the militia at Oriskany were many old men of sixty and young men of sixteen. They went in platoons of families. There were nine members of the Snell family in the battle, of whom seven were buried on the field. There were five Waggoners, five Wollovers, five Bellingers, four Foxes, four Durckells, five Seelers, four Petries, and so through all the list. Grandfathers, fathers, brothers, sons, fought side by side and died together. When this little army, marching haphazard like farmers through the woody defiles that skirted the Mohawk river, found itself suddenly surrounded and cut in two, and heard the forest resound with the savage war whoop, it neither ran nor faltered. Picked troops never found themselves in a situation quite so terrible. When the fate of Napoleon hung upon the household troops of France they charged an enemy that was neither hidden nor savage, that neither fought with horrid yells nor scalped every man who fell. If history afforded any parallel to this feat of a handful of green levies we might forgive her for having so slighted the battle of Oriskany. It is not surprising that Lord George Ger-



main did not include the Tryon county militia in his calculations of the chances, for had he been a better student of history than he was he would have found no record like that of Oriskany.

Again, the battle of Oriskany was the first intimation, couched in such terms as to be unmistakable, of the vast error the British Government was making in its reliance upon the tory element among the colonists for the subjugation of the revolted provinces. Not before had it become thoroughly clear that the revolt was something more than a desultory struggle. The force assigned to Barry St. Leger for the expedition from Oswego was ridiculously disproportionate to its hazard and importance, save upon the single theory that it was to serve merely as a nucleus, to so attract the loyalists that they would roll down the river like an avalanche. His troops were detachments of the 8th and 34th regiments, a body of Hanau Chasseurs, and a company of "Greens," 133 strong, raised by Sir John Johnson from the very country to be invaded, and his witnesses to the tory sentiment of the valley. In all there were 1,700 soldiers, swelled to nearly three times that number of men by Indians and Canadian axemen.

But the error of judgment was not unnatural. Four hundred tories were with Burgoyne, and each one reported his neighbors only waiting a more favorable opportunity to join the King's ranks. Regiments of loyalists were raised without difficulty in the Southern part of the State. Sabine boldly asserts that the tories were in an actual majority in the New York Colony at the outbreak of hostilities. It is not surprising that the ministry should have so believed, for the sympathies of two-thirds of the men of wealth and the landed proprietors were certainly with the Crown. It was natural to suppose that the baronial lords of New York could control the political opinions of their tenantry. And so they often did. In the center of the Mohawk valley lay the vast estates of the Johnsons. Around their fortified manor house clustered a large tenantry of English and Scotch, who were loyalists almost to a man. It is one of the unwritten traditions of the Mohawk valley that Sir William Johnson died of a broken heart; that the struggle in his own mind, where generous instincts were many, between loyalty to the king who had made him all he was, and sympathy with the Colonists in a revolt against a tyranny he knew to be odious, was so severe that life gave way under the strain. Whether this tradition be true or not, it is certain that no such scruples troubled the sons and sons-in-law of the royal Superintendent of Indians. No sooner had the estates descended than

vigorous measures went on to repress the disloyal element in the valley. The local chronicles bear evidence that there were five or six hundred tories in this Mohawk district where the Johnsons resided, and more than a hundred whigs never got together against them. But above this district, towards the head of the valley, England had planted the colony of the Palatines—not unselfishly as many historians write, but to serve as a human wall of protection for the English settlers against the incursions of the French and Indians. Already the homes and crops of the Palatines had been once destroyed. They had no special reason to be loyal to England. Unbiased by ties of blood or affection for a mother country, they judged the crisis upon its merits, and almost to a man they cast their lot with the colonists. Thus it was the Palatines who saved the Mohawk valley. There were exceptions, even among them. As Gouverneur Morris had a brother, Staats, and a brother-in-law, Dr. Isaac Wilkins; so General Herkimer had a brother, Han Yost, and a brother-in-law, Rosecrants. One was a bitter tory, and the other, like a great many of the reverend gentlemen of the revolution, was a neutral with royal sympathies. History has taken a most unphilosophical view of a scene which occurred while Herkimer's little army was marching to the relief of Fort Stanwix. The General was for delay. He seems to have had a premonition of the ambushade that was already prepared for him. But his officers at once suspected his good faith, and bluntly said so. They were thinking of Han Yost and the reverend brother-in-law. The charge of disloyalty was wiped out by Herkimer's blood not many hours after it was made. As a matter of historical fact there was hardly a man in that little band of militia who did not suspect that he was marching between two traitors. At that early stage of the valley-war universal suspicion was a military necessity. There had been no test of an individual sentiment as yet. Oriskany supplied one which lasted. After that the Council of Safety wrote no more letters complaining of the disloyalty of Tryon county, and the Johnsons wrote no more letters to the home government predicting an "uprising" in the Mohawk Valley, and I think I am justified, in view of all the attendant circumstances, in the opinion that if the battle of Oriskany had not been fought, or had terminated differently, the expected tory "uprising" in the valley would have occurred, and the whole situation of 1777 have been reversed.

In the third place, the battle of Oriskany was the first intimation to the British that their Indian alliance was not to be effective in a regular war. They entertained, not unnaturally, an extravagant estimate of the



proWess of the Six Nations. They reckoned them as even more effective than regular British troops in a campaign in a new country, with whose topography and perplexities they were familiar. The whole force of Indians who accompanied St. Leger from Oswego, upwards of one thousand in number, was at Oriskany, and the burden of the battle was upon them. They were led by Thayendanegea—Joseph Brant—Chief of the Mohawks, the ideal Indian, with the quickest wit, the strongest arm, the bravest heart of any chief in the traditions of the Six Nations. They entered the battle with the understanding that no limitations were to be set to their peculiar methods of warfare. For every scalp of a Mohawk Valley farmer brought from the field, the savage at whose belt it hung was to claim and receive a reward.

The English could make no complaint of the valor displayed by their Indian allies during the earlier stages of the battle. The English themselves were to blame, because at the crisis the red men suddenly fell into a panic, sounded the "Oonah" of retreat, and scampered off into the woods. They had been told that these "Dutch Yankees" from the valley were "pudding faces," who would permit themselves to be scalped and robbed with impunity. I am compelled to the conviction that the doughty warriors of the Six Nations much preferred this sort of an antagonist. A dozen of their chiefs were slain at Oriskany and something less than a hundred of their warriors. It was too much of a loss for Indian equanimity. To the end of the war the Indians were never again persuaded to attack an organized force, or to make a stand against an army.

But Oriskany taught the English that the Indians were not only unreliable, but actually dangerous as allies. St. Leger endeavored to terrorize the garrison of Fort Stanwix into surrender by threats that a longer resistance would exasperate his Indian allies into a general massacre of the defenseless people of the valley. He professed his inability to hold them in check when once their natural passions were fully aroused. He was nearer right than he thought. They were already in a panic, and their fear was as far beyond control as their barbarity or their cupidity. His demand for surrender had hardly been rejected before they compelled him to break camp and retreat, as he himself confesses, "with all the precipitation of a rout." Once beyond the danger, the fear of the Indians again gave way to cupidity. Deprived of the promised plunder of the garrison and the valley, they turned to and plundered their friends. The evidence is conclusive that the regular

troops suffered severely in that retreat from the unrestrainable avarice and ferocity of the Indians. A scalp was a scalp in Indian ethics, no matter what were the political opinions of the brain beneath it. Johnson had over-estimated his personal influence with the red men. It was strong enough to induce them to violate their treaties of neutrality, but it was powerless to put into them that capacity for regular war which they never possessed. In due time King and Parliament were officially informed that the Indians "treacherously committed ravages upon their friends;" that "they could not be controlled;" that "they killed their captives after the fashion of their tribes;" and that "they grew more and more unreasonable and importunate." Indeed, the influence of the Indians over their allies was much stronger than any the latter exerted. From the disastrous expedition against Fort Stanwix Sir John Johnson emerged a full-fledged Indian in his instincts, the leader of a band of assassins, attacking the defenseless homes of his old neighbors at midnight, and murdering their dwellers in their beds. He made two incursions upon the Mohawk Valley during the remainder of the war, and the Indians who accompanied him were not more expert than he in devising ambuscades or more relentless in their inhuman revenge.

If I have not placed too much importance upon these three facts which the battle of Oriskany established, the historians of the Revolution have failed to give to the engagement that position to which it is entitled. Many of them barely allude to it in passing hurriedly over the preliminaries of the Burgoyne campaign. Most of our own historians concede the claim of a British victory there, without undertaking an examination of the slender grounds upon which that claim has rested in security. Irving intimates that "it does not appear that either party was entitled to the victory;" Lossing passes it by as "the defeat of Herkimer," and Dr. Thacher as "the victory of St. Leger." There was no official report of the battle of Oriskany in behalf of the Americans there engaged, and in the absence of such a report the whole matter has been permitted to go by default. The impudent letter in which St. Leger boasted of his victory to Burgoyne has been permitted to harden into history. Fortunately it is not too late to estimate Oriskany by its results. The technical evidence of their victory resides in the fact that the Tryon County militia held the field, from which their enemies fled, and carried off their wounded at leisure. The substantial evidence is that they were marching to the relief of Fort Stanwix, and the raising of the siege of that fort was the direct result of the battle. It was the

demoralization of his Indian allies which compelled St. Leger's precipitate retreat a week later, and it was Oriskany which created the demoralization. It was Oriskany which protected the rear of Gates' army. It was Oriskany which prevented a Tory uprising that might not have been confined to the Mohawk Valley. It was Oriskany which convinced the patriots that their raw troops were not a fruitless defense against the trained soldiers of England. It was Oriskany which, in the words of Washington, "first reversed the gloomy scene" of the opening years of the Revolution.

S. N. D. NORTH

¹ An effort was made during the Revolution to change the name of the fort which guarded the carrying place from the Mohawk to Wood Creek, from Stanwix to Schuyler, in honor to the brave General of the Revolution; but the universal custom of the intervening century has preserved the original name.

JOHN ADAMS AT THE COURT OF ST. JAMES

The presentation at the British Court of the first Minister from the Government of the United States was an event of singular interest and importance. A long and painful struggle of seven years had ended in the separation of the Colonies from the mother country, and the acknowledgment of their independence. The definitive treaty of peace, signed at Paris on the third day of September, 1783, by the British and American envoys, and ratified at last by their respective Governments, had closed the drama of the Revolution, and a new nation on this continent, with the experiment of free institutions, was now to take its place and make a history for itself among the kingdoms and empires of the World.

Dr. Franklin, John Adams and John Jay were associated in the commission for the treaty of peace, and to them had been intrusted the business of arranging the fundamental articles and settling important preliminary questions. Henry Laurens of South Carolina, the other American envoy, and but recently discharged from his imprisonment in the Tower of London in exchange for Lord Cornwallis, took no part in the treaty until just at the close of the negotiations. After it had been signed and ratified, Dr. Franklin, writing to a friend in Philadelphia—Charles Thompson—said: "Thus the great and hazardous enterprise we have been engaged in is, God be praised, happily completed; an event I hardly expected I should live to see. A few years of peace, well improved, will restore and increase our strength; but our future safety will depend on our union and our virtue. Britain will be long watching for advantages to recover what she has lost. If we do not convince the world that we are a nation to be depended on for fidelity in treaties; if we appear negligent in paying our debts, and ungrateful to those who have served and befriended us, our reputation, and all the strength it is capable of procuring will be lost, and fresh attacks upon us will be encouraged and promoted by better prospects of success. It was a memorable event in the history of this country. "The third of September," wrote John Adams on that day, 1783, "will be more remarkable for the signature of the definitive treaties than for the battle of Naseby or Worcester or the death of Oliver Cromwell."

Mr. Jay returned to America, and Dr. Franklin, after a residence abroad of more than eight years, during which time he had been employed in public affairs of the utmost importance, soon followed

him, and Thomas Jefferson was appointed to succeed him as Minister Plenipotentiary in France. Before his return, however, Franklin, Adams and Jefferson were constituted by Congress a new Commission to negotiate treaties of amity and commerce with the principal European powers; but not much was accomplished beyond eliciting from these powers evidence of their friendly dispositions towards the United States.

So early as March 9, 1785, Mr. Adams wrote from Auteuil, near Paris, to his friend Elbridge Gerry, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and afterwards Vice President of the United States, and remarked: "I think the invitation to send a Minister to London should be accepted, as it is undoubtedly our place to send first, and as the neglect of exchanging ambassadors will forever be regarded as a proof of coldness and jealousies by the people of England, the people of America, and by all the Courts and nations of Europe. It is in vain to expect of us treaties of commerce with England while she will not treat here and Congress will not treat there."

Mr. Adams, therefore, having been appointed Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of St. James, repaired to London, and on his way thither, the stage coach being crowded, he took a seat on the outside, and had for his companion an Englishman, who, not knowing his character, but supposing him to be of his own nationality, engaged him in conversation concerning the American people. He indulged in some reflections not very complimentary to the Americans, and made statements about their complexion and civilization which Mr. Adams politely corrected. "Why, what you do you know about them?" said the Englishman. "Have you been in America?" "Yes, I have," was the reply. "Well, do tell me then if it be true that they are half savage, Indians, dark or copper-colored, and of little intelligence?" "The best answer I can give you," said Mr. Adams, "is to ask you to look upon myself. I am an American, and a fair sample of the speech and appearance of my countrymen."

He was at this time, as he had ever been, on the most intimate terms with Mr. Gerry. Their friendship had been cemented by participation in the long struggle of the Colonies, they were natives of the same Commonwealth, and they had not only been placed by their fellow-citizens in official positions of high responsibility, but had been chief contributors to the spirit and measures that led to Independence. Upon his arrival in London Mr. Adams wrote Mr. Gerry, then a member of Congress, under date of June 26th, 1785, and acquainted him with the manner of

his reception, and said: "I have met with a public reception here as respectful and honorable as possible, but I am not deceived by all that into a belief that we shall soon obtain what we want. There is a reserve, which signifies more to me than many fine speeches and pompous ceremonies. I shall soon write more fully."

The fuller account to which he referred was contained in the translation of letters addressed in cipher to Mr. Jay, Secretary of State, and giving in detail his presentations to the King and Queen, and the speeches and replies which formed a part and the principal part of the ceremonies. The translation was accompanied by the following letter, never before printed, which indicates the caution of Mr. Adams in the public matters of that crisis, as well as the spirit and hopes that governed his actions:

GROSVENOR SQUARE, WESTMINSTER, July 6, 1785.

My Dear Friend: The inclosed Letters I send to Mr. Jay in Cypher, but as the conversations with the King and Queen have been reported by Lord Carmarthen and the Lord and Ladies in waiting on the Queen, and are become generally known, there is no longer a Necessity of so much mystery, yet you must be sensible of the Delicacy of the subject, and therefore communicate them with discretion and in confidence; if Mr. Jay should not have rec'd the originals in Cypher, you may deliver these to him when you see him, but I make no doubt he will receive them.


The Dispositions of the Ministry are either very deceitful or very good, but they are [so] watched and embarrassed by oppositions of various Parties that it will at least be long before they venture on any thing decisive. They may do something to the Purpose sooner than I expect, but I see no present hope. I am much afraid there will be a necessity that the People of all the States should follow the example of Fanueil Hall. But it cannot be too earnestly recommended to them to consider Persons and Property as sacred. There is no necessity of violating either. Petitions of the People to their Assemblies, and Instructions from them to Congress will be sufficient for all good Purposes.

With great esteem your Friend & Servant,

MR. GERRY.

JOHN ADAMS.

Mr. Adams arrived in London on the 26th of May, and was presented to the King and Queen with the customary ceremonies at one o'clock on Wednesday, the first of June, and on the ninth of the same month to the Queen. The letters containing "the conversations" are to be found in *The Life and Works of John Adams*, vol. viii, and the translation there printed must have been made from the cypher text or copied from the original draughts, as it differs in a slight degree from the translated duplicates sent to Mr. Gerry.



One is struck with the sentiments of the American Minister in the presence of the British sovereign. His appointment formed indeed a new epoch in the history of England and of America. "I think myself," said he, "more fortunate than all my fellow-citizens in having the distinguished honor to be the first to stand in your Majesty's royal presence in a diplomatic character, and I shall esteem myself the happiest of men if I can be instrumental in recommending my country more and more to your Majesty's royal benevolence, and of restoring an entire esteem, confidence and affection, or in better words, the old good nature and the old good humor between people who, though separated by an ocean, and under different governments, have the same language, a similar religion and kindred blood." And the King's reply was dignified and respectful, and made with evident emotion. He wished it to be understood in America that he had done nothing in the late contest but what he thought himself indispensably bound to do by the duty which he owed to his people. He was reluctant to part with his Colonies, and owned that he was the last to consent to the separation, but the separation having taken place he "would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power."

The speech of Mr. Adams to the Queen, who welcomed him to her country, was especially gracious, and after venturing upon some high thoughts, he added, "it seems to be descending too far to ask, as I do, your Majesty's royal indulgence to a person who is indeed unqualified for Courts, and who owes his elevation to this distinguished honor of standing before your Majesty, not to any circumstances of illustrious birth, fortune or abilities, but merely to an ardent devotion to his native country and some little industry and perseverance in her service."

Such was the appearance of the first Minister from the United States before the Court of St. James. It was as honorable to him as to the Government which he represented, and excited at the time much interest and curiosity among the ambassadors of the great powers of Europe. Though the requirements of courtly etiquette were not altogether agreeable to the republican simplicity of Mr. Adams and to his notions of the dispatch of public business, yet he fulfilled them all as a part of his duty, believing what he then said, that "it is thus the essence of things is lost in ceremony in every country of Europe."

E. E. BEARDSLEY

JAMES WILLIAM BEEKMAN

The family of Beekman in New York has been traced to an early and honorable origin in Germany. An accomplished scholar, a native of Cologne, Gerard Beekman was chosen early in the seventeenth century to ask assistance abroad for the Protestant cause, and on this embassy visited England, whose sovereign, James I., it is stated by Mr. Holgate in his *American Genealogy*, gratified with the ability or spirit of the ambassador, "caused the coat of arms of the Beekman family to be remodelled, as it now is, to a 'rose on either side of a running brook,' the word beck or brook being incorporated in the name. This Gerard Beekman, on his return to Germany, being prominently identified with the Protestant cause, became a sufferer with its followers, was driven into exile, but found honorable refuge in the service of the Elector of Brandenburg. His eldest son Henry was sent by the religious persecutions of the time into the United Provinces of the Netherlands, where he found political employment under the States General. He left a son William, born at Overysse, who at the age of twenty-four, in 1647, sailed, in company with the newly appointed Governor, Peter Stuyvesant, to make his home in New Netherland. We soon hear of him as a wealthy landed proprietor in New York, Beekman street to this day perpetuating his name, and marking the area of his property. After holding several offices in the civic government, he was appointed Vice Director for the West India Company on the Delaware in 1658, where for four years, with zeal and fidelity, he kept watch over a limited region in a military and judicial capacity. Upon his retirement from this unsettled and somewhat scant jurisdiction, he was retained for a short time in the Company's service as Sheriff of Esopus on the Hudson. Subsequently, under the English rule, he was for a number of years Alderman in the city of New York, where he died at an advanced age in 1707.

Fifth in descent from William Beekman in a line of citizens of distinction as physicians and merchants, James William, son of Gerard Beekman, was born in the city of New York on the 22d of November, 1815. His mother was Catharine Sanders, and in his father's line he inherited the blood of Keteltas, De la Noy and Abeel. Carefully educated under private tuition at home, he entered Columbia College, and was graduated with the class of 1834. Upon leaving college he studied

law for a time in the office of John L. Mason, but never became a member of the bar. His father's death in 1833 left him independent in a fortune, which was greatly increased on the death of his uncle James by the bequest of a huge landed estate and country residence on the East River. On these grounds, crossed by the present Fifty-second street, stood the historic mansion erected by James Beekman prior to the Revolution, which became identified with several important incidents of that period. On the occupation of the city by the British after the battle of Long Island, the house was the residence and headquarters successively of Sir William Howe, Commissary Loring, Generals Clinton and Robertson. Andre, tradition says, slept in one of its rooms the night prior to his fatal departure for West Point. Captain Nathan Hale was tried and condemned as a spy in the ample green-house in its garden.


Previously to grappling with the onerous difficulties of the improvement of this landed property, the demand for which was now imminent with the growth of the city, Mr. Beekman having in long summer tours become familiar with the natural features of his own country from Maine to St. Louis, then the terminus of western travel, at the close of 1838 entered upon a visit to Europe, in which, as in his previous American journeys, he was accompanied by the writer of this notice. Sailing in a packet ship for Havre, we were at Paris diverted from the usual track of continental travel by the invitation of the Hon. Harmanus Bleecker of Albany to join him in a protracted visit to Holland. In that country, chiefly in a residence at the Hague, we passed several months together. Mr. Bleecker carried letters from his friend, President Van Buren, which opened to him the doors of every distinguished personage of that leisurely metropolis. The charm of this social intercourse, with its unusual opportunities for studying the manners and habits of the people, and observing the sources of the national prosperity, while making acquaintance with the numerous memorials of its illustrious history, in its ancient public buildings, its institutions and the ever-present world of art, occupied us through a winter of profitable enjoyment till spring. England and Scotland were then traversed in a comprehensive tour. At the end of the year we returned in one of the earliest steam vessels crossing the Atlantic to New York.

Soon after his arrival home, Mr. Beekman married, in 1840, a daughter of the Rev. Dr. Milledoller, then President of Rutgers College, New Jersey. The old historic family mansion on the East River was fitted up, with a reverent regard for its antiquities, for a residence; and there for a while, in the exercise of a generous hospitality, its owner

looked forth upon the march of the great city which was threatening field and garden, and in no long time approached by a newly laid out street to his very doorway. With a conservative instinct which governed the man through life, and the characteristic pluck of his race, he would not suffer any encroachments of this kind greatly to disturb the venerable land-mark. The land was cut down in front of the edifice to form a level street, but the building was supported on a new basement, and still continued, with its noble elevation, to challenge the attention of the voyager on the East River.

Before these changes in the grounds were made, while the estate was yet in its perfect beauty, it was our good fortune to accompany to the spot a distinguished visitor, who had an observant eye and keen appreciation for all its associations. This was the author, Nathaniel Hawthorne, whose acquaintance Mr. Beekman and myself had made together in our early tour in New England. Hawthorne, then unknown to public office, and but little known to the public in any way, was living the life of a recluse at Salem. The single volume of tales, which he had then published, had given, however, to all intelligent perceptions the most decided proofs of his genius. The acquaintance then formed between Mr. Hawthorne and Mr. Beekman was never lost sight of by the former, who ever held in affectionate remembrance the kindly qualities of his visitor. I had often occasion to observe this in subsequent meetings and correspondence with Mr. Hawthorne, and I mention it here as a striking proof of the worth and amiable nature of our common friend, whose character is the subject of this memorial; for Hawthorne, as any reader of his personal Diaries must have noticed, was a most fastidious and rare judge of character. On occasion of his visit to the Beekman House he was a quiet observer of its grounds and position, and of the historic treasures which its walls contained. In one of his many note books or journals, published since his death, there is a reference to the capabilities of such a scene, inspired, we think, by this very spot, for the purposes of an imaginative portrayal of a great city, devouring in its progress such old historical edifices. A pen and ink sketch of the Beekman House by Hawthorne would have been no unmeet companion to his living pictures of the old Province House in Boston.

The charm of the place, as an inviting home, was soon however to be relinquished by its owner. The ground in its vicinity being once broken, new sanitary conditions were required in the laying out of the whole region, a necessity of which a severe warning was received in the presence of the dreaded cholera. The health of the family was seriously

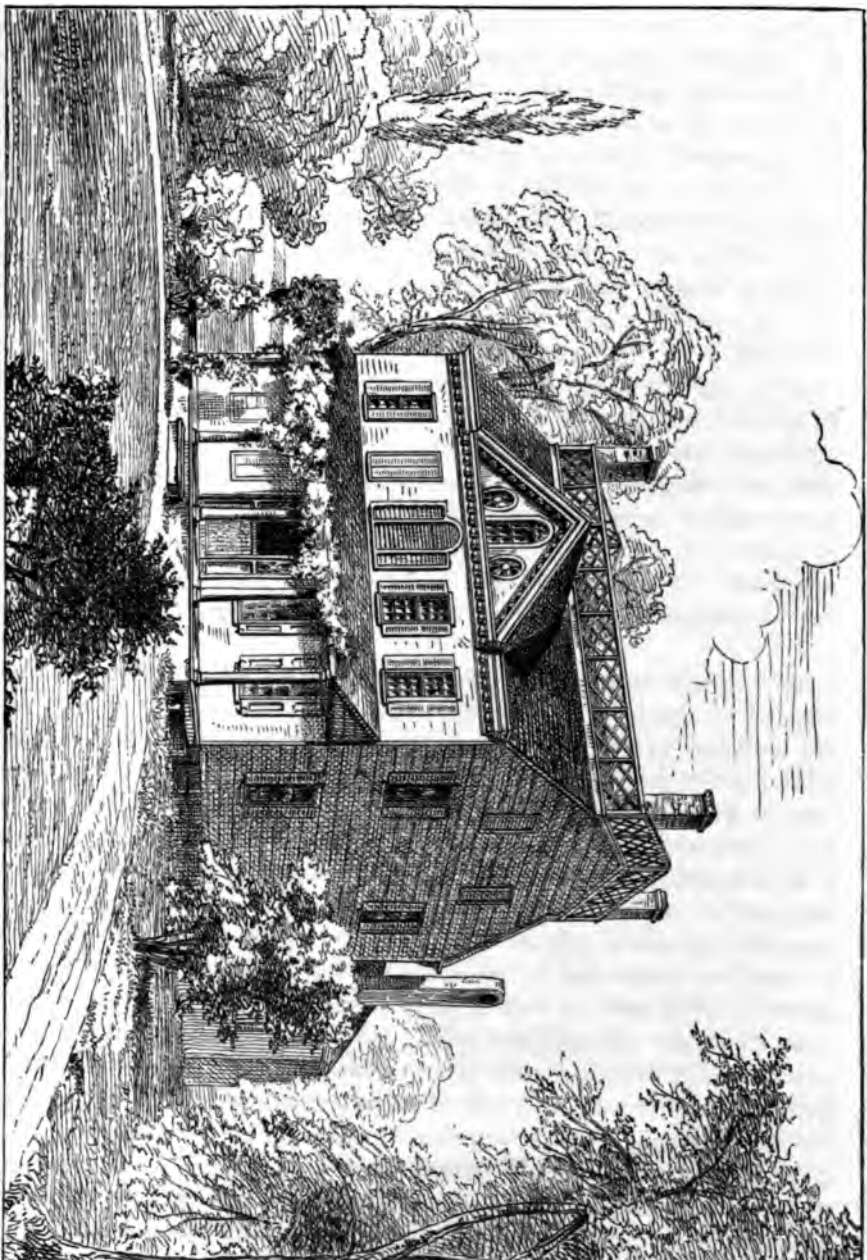


threatened or impaired, which led to the final abandonment of the house as a residence by its proprietor. A protracted tour in Europe was undertaken at the demand of physicians for the recovery of the health of Mrs. Beekman, which was slowly regained in a solicitous course of foreign travel, embracing a residence in Rome. In a subsequent foreign tour Mr. Beekman passed a winter in Egypt. During all these journeyings his time was liberally occupied with the study of the government of the countries he visited, the practical working of their political principles, their religious life, their machinery of education and particularly the management of their humanitarian institutions. The study of the laws of health and the means of its recovery, which had been practically forced upon his attention, led to that intimate acquaintance with remedial treatment in public hospitals, which he afterwards turned to good account in his participation in the conduct of such institutions at home.

Having now arrived at the middle stage of life Mr. Beekman became much engrossed in the difficult and costly work crowded upon him by the march of local improvement; the work of the adjustment of his considerable landed estates to the requirements of the city. This, for a number of years, fully occupied his attention; but, onerous as the task was, it was not suffered to exclude what had now become the settled habit of his life; the devotion of a portion of his time to the philanthropic and public duties of the citizen. Foremost among these he always exhibited an interest in the promotion of popular education and the work of hospital improvement. He was an earnest friend of the Public School system of this city, serving as a member of its Board of Education and carefully observant of the daily routine in its schools and academies. At the time of his decease he held the position of Trustee of Columbia College, his Alma Mater, his interest in its development having been previously shown as a member of her Society of Alumni. On the foundation of the Woman's Hospital in this city, the establishment of which he had earnestly advocated, he was chosen its first President, and held the office till his death. He gave much of his time to the welfare of this institution, which justly holds his memory in the highest regard. In the appreciative and kindly words of the Governors of the Hospital after his death: "His instincts were ever in the direction of that which is right and loving and true. He was never troubled with misgivings in any question of duty. It was impossible for him to do other than ally himself with the side of the wronged, the afflicted, the distressed. He was a generous hearted Christian gentle-



Fig. 1. School building.



THE BEEKMAN HOUSE, TURTLE BAY.

Mr. Beekman was chosen with the late Erastus Corning a Delegate to the Peace Convention in 1861 at Washington, when he urged in vain upon President Buchanan the provisioning of Fort Sumter by running the blockade with the steamer "Star of the West."* On the actual outbreak of hostilities the position of Mr. Beekman was unequivocal for the maintenance of the National Government. He was one of the founders of that active, patriotic institution in this city, the Union League Club, of which, for a time, he held the Vice Presidency. His attitude in the present state of our political affairs was shown within the year by his advocacy of the policy of President Hayes in reference to the civil service and his course towards the South. "My earnest conviction," he wrote to the Chairman of the meeting held in Wall street in March in support of the President, "is that true reform and national prosperity depend upon a civil service in which the selection shall be made from 'the fittest,' without reference to party. The course of President Hayes at this time deserves the support of every lover of his country, and justifies even the very high estimate I have formed of his character."

Mr. Beekman's sympathy was extended to various liberal movements abroad; to the cause of Protestantism in France, the progress of Italy to independence, the effort of Mexico during the civil war to maintain herself against the plots and armies of France and the usurpation of Maximilian. At a crisis in the affairs of Mexico he presided at the public dinner given in this city in 1864 to Señor Romero, the Minister at Washington from that country, at which were assembled a distinguished audience; Mr. Bryant, Mr. Bancroft, President King of Columbia College, Mr. De Peyster, Mr. Folsom were among the speakers. On a subsequent occasion, in 1867, many of the same guests assembled in this city to congratulate the same representative of Mexico on the final triumph of the national cause. Mr. Bryant then presided and Mr. Beekman was one of the speakers. He was called upon to respond to the toast "Free Churches and Free Schools;" alluding to the promised development of popular education in Mexico, he coupled the efforts there making with the old glorious struggle in Holland, when religion and education were joined in a union necessary and inseparable.

By no means an unimportant part of these relations to the public borne by Mr. Beekman was his cordial participation in the club life of the city. It was an exhibition of the social impulses which formed so distinctive a portion of his character. Unlike churlish John Hawkins of

* Mr. Beekman published an account of this interview in the *Evening Post*, November 6, 1876.

Johnsonian fame, he was eminently "a clubable man." He was for more than thirty years a member of the St. Nicholas Society, and held in 1868 and 1869, for the customary period of two years, in successive elections, its office of President. In the latter year he delivered before the Society an address, entitled "The Founders of New York," which has been published. In this, in a lively, sketchy way, he introduced not merely the early settlers of Manhattan, but discussed the influence of the Netherlands upon England, and exhibited the trophies of the mother country in the furtherance of education by her pioneer national schools, promoting with the zeal of a native Hollander to the foremost position in the history of his Art, their printer, Lawrence Coster, whose first work was a Child's Primer, which made common schools possible and Luther a power in the world. Mr. Beekman was also one of the originators of and the President of the St. Nicholas Club of this city, and had long been associated with the Century Club.

Of these public and semi-public avocations, there remains but one to mention—his membership in the New York Historical Society. He was one of its oldest members of the present generation, having been elected a resident member on the revival of the Society in 1838. In 1847 he was appointed a member of the Executive Committee, and was made its Secretary. The following year he was elected Domestic Corresponding Secretary, and held that office for seven years. In 1868 he was again appointed on the Executive Committee, and held the position till his decease. In 1872 he was elected Second Vice President of the Society, and was annually re-elected to that office to the present year. He read several papers before the Society—one on "Early European Colonies on the Delaware" in 1847, another on "The History of Religious Missions" in 1849. In the former he had occasion to review the exploits of his ancestor, William Beekman, after the surrender of Fort Casimir, for the particulars of which affair he humorously refers to the "veracious chronicle of Diedrich Knickerbocker," not, however, as his narrative passes along, without a Parthian arrow discharged at the merry historian. "Peace," says he, "be with his ashes! When he wielded over the reputation of our ancestors Geoffrey Crayon's sceptre, he held it, perhaps, over the losel Yankees as a rod of iron, but to the hapless Dutchmen it became a red-hot poker!" In 1874, when the old Beekman house was taken down, he presented to the Society the drawing-room mantel and Dutch tiles, which now adorn the lower hall of the Library building. Other relics of the place found a congenial home in the new country house which Mr. Beekman erected for a summer resi-

dence at Oyster Bay, Long Island—among them the antique coach of English make, one of the first seen in New York, which had been carefully handed down in the family from his ancestor, James, the builder of the old mansion.


It was in the midst of the activities which we have spoken of, in the enjoyment of health, with the promise of prolonged usefulness for many years, that Mr. Beekman was suddenly stricken down. Prostrated by an acute attack of pneumonia, when he appeared successfully to have struggled with the complaint, his strength failed him, and he succumbed to the disease on the 15th of June, 1877, at his residence in this city. The gathering at the funeral of distinguished citizens, many of whom had been his associates in his philanthropic labors, at the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church in the Fifth Avenue, where a commemorative address was delivered by his friend, the Rev. Dr. Vermilye, bore testimony to the regard in which he was held by the community. His remains were interred in Greenwood Cemetery.

A large inherited fortune left Mr. Beekman free from the ordinary cares and anxieties of money making to pursue something of the ideal in life; and he found this ideal in the charms of society and practical philanthropy. He had nothing in him of the recluse. His enjoyments were freely shared with his family and friends. Beyond these his thoughts and cares were with the welfare of the State, that family of fellow-citizens; and the religious world, that greater cosmopolitan family of fellow Christians. He readily gave his time and labors, with his sympathies, to others. All who became acquainted with him saw that he was an eminently social man. His openness of address and easiness of approach, with a certain impressive genial bonhomie, seconded by an unfailing vivacity of conversation, rendered him the delight of his companions. His courteous respect to ladies had in it a spice of the old deferential chivalry. Firm in the maintenance of his own views where they involved points of principle and morality, he was considerate of the opinions of others where these tests were not violated.

It would be unjust to the memory of Mr. Beekman; it would be unjust to his friends to whom we speak, to close this notice without some adequate mention of his religious character. It is not to our taste, it would not be in accordance with his disposition, to parade the sanctities of life before the world; but no proper estimate or conception of the life of our friend can be formed if we omit this element of character. He always appeared to us in his walk and conversation—two old and very descriptive words—the Christian gentleman. Piety with him was a

principle and a tradition. He inherited and cherished the simple, devout Protestant faith of his fathers; and it constantly guided his life. He loved and revered the Bible, not merely as the book of all books, of the most exquisite moral type, as the acme of all literature in its delight of every æsthetic faculty, as the sum of all human philosophy; but as the divine guide to man, born beyond the world, sacred in its source, sacred in its keeping, to be cherished as the life-giving fount, the inspiration and incentive of every human excellence, the promise and support to the race of its hopes and aspirations, the companion of life from the cradle to the grave, from the lisp of infancy to the faltering tone of age. As a means of insight, of elevation, of civilization, the value of this Book in its literature, its divinity, was so transcendantly important in his view, that it was simply incomprehensible to him that any limit should be set to its acceptance. That it should be excluded from early education, that it should be denied the pupil in the Public Schools was, in his perception, as consummate an act of treason to mental and moral light and knowledge as it would be to obscure the rays of the sun in its dissemination of warmth and beauty to the world. His last, most interesting and valuable gift to the New York Historical Society was a superb perfect copy of the first Bible printed in the Dutch language of his ancestors.

Parallel with the worth of the Bible to man, he regarded and ever in his own practice religiously maintained, the observance of the Christian Sabbath, not in any Puritanical exaggeration as a day of austerity and gloom, but as a period of repose from labor and its severities, a time for cheerful family and friendly intercourse, of prayer and praise, of the opening of the mind by the best culture to the higher life of the soul. There was no spirit of exclusiveness in this, no obtrusion of personal views upon others, but a generous liberality of sentiment which respected the rights of those who, mindful of the one great end, might differ from him as to the particular ecclesiastical road in reaching it. In consonance with this feeling, though a conservative in his pursuit of the religious worship of his forefathers in the Reformed Dutch Church, and sincerely attached to its ways, at the close of his life he held a pew in the Presbyterian Church of the Rev. Dr. Hall, whose personal friendship he enjoyed. In his intercourse as a citizen he associated freely with the leaders of the various Christian Churches of the city; and we think we may safely say, was honored and respected by them all. Indeed there was a singular geniality in his disposition, which was shed like sunlight upon all with whom he came in contact. He was a bright,



quick, somewhat sententious talker, enlivening his conversation with jest and story drawn from experience and reading. He had been an observant traveller abroad and at home, and was familiar with many distinguished public men; in his active daily life, as well as from books, he had accumulated a liberal fund of knowledge, which displayed itself in the resources of illustrations and anecdote, and a certain humorous, practical way of stating a question which enlivened his conversation and occasional public speeches. So natural to him and so constant was this vein, this cheery vivacity that he carried with him, a foe to dullness and despondency, a life imparting power, in the intercourse of every-day life, that his friends realize with difficulty his sudden departure. The spirit of such a man, indeed, survives long in the recollection of his friends, not as a memory but a living presence. Verily, these are not the times in which we can afford to neglect such an example of worth, probity and moderation.

EVERT A. DUYCKINCK



ness, after the fashion of the day, he took interest in privateering. At least he is found associated with one of the Lispenards in the ownership of the *Grace*, a ship of eight guns. Many a rich prize was seized and brought in during the wars of the century, New York privateers venturing even to the Spanish main, and standing off and on across the "Trades," in watch for India cargoes. In 1765 the paths of peace becoming again secure, the good ship *Grace* was put into the Bristol trade, and run regularly under the command of William Chambers, a crack Captain, later famous in the tea party days.

In 1760 the enterprising young merchant made a more important and happy venture. In October of that year he married Ann Dorothy, daughter of Andrew Barclay, a wealthy gentleman, who had passed from Curacoa to New York, and there established himself as a merchant. This alliance connected young Bache with some of the best blood of the Province. His wife's family was intermarried with those of Van Cortlandt and Jay. Another of the daughters of Andrew Barclay was married to Major Moncrieff, a British officer of distinction; another became the second wife of Dr. Richard Bayley.

The younger of the two brothers, Richard Bache, was also born at Settle, September 12th, 1737, and appears to have followed early in the footsteps of the elder. The colonies were a fortunate opening for such families as those of his father. Richard was the eighteenth child. The precise date of his arriving does not appear, but he had already established himself in business in Philadelphia in 1760. Here he acted partly as his brother's agent, especially in the underwriting of vessels and cargoes. Underwriting was a profitable business in those days, three and a half per cent. being a usual charge for an Havana risk. The policies were engaged to be of "as much force and effect as the surest writing or Policy of Assurance made in Lombard street or elsewhere in London." In Philadelphia Richard Bache connected himself by marriage with one of those characters whose single lustre is sufficient to shed perpetual light upon its most distant alliances. On the 3d October, 1767, Richard Bache married Sarah, sole daughter of the illustrious Franklin, a woman of rare accomplishments and great beauty. Thus early did these two youths secure for themselves and their posterity a firm place in the great colonies into which they were adopted. It was from Franklin that the late distinguished Chief of the Coast Survey, Alexander Dallas Bache, inherited his talent for observation and discovery. One of his most interesting tracts, published in the *Journal of the Franklin Institute* in 1833, was entitled "An Attempt to fix the Date

of the Observation of Dr. Franklin in Relation to the Northeast Storms of the Atlantic Coast of the United States." Dr. Franklin was the first to observe and establish the fact that northeast storms begin to leeward, and are often more violent there than farther to windward, which he stated with his usual perspicuity in 1749. The meteorological notices which warn mariners and farmers of weather changes with an accuracy now proverbial, practically originated with Franklin. A most curious instance of their value was seen when travelers, intending to return from Europe a few days since, were known to postpone their departure on the telegraphic announcement of the great cyclone which recently swept over our southern coast, and then diverging crossed the Atlantic.

On the resignation by Franklin of the office of Postmaster-General under the Crown, the headquarters of which Department were at Philadelphia, Richard Bache succeeded him in this position.

During the troubles which preceded the revolution it is to be supposed that both brothers were in accord in their sentiments. Theophylact was foremost among the New York merchants who openly resisted the aggressions of the Home Government and united heartily with them in the Non-importation agreements which, originating in New York in 1765, proved sufficient in their rigorous enforcement to compel the repeal of the Stamp Act. It was when in 1770 new encroachments of the Ministry were met by new determination not to trade with the mother country until all grievances were redressed he was again one of the committee chosen to see to their execution. So also when in May, 1774, a Committee of Correspondence was raised upon the news of the closing of the port of Boston, he was a regular attendant upon its meetings and a willing promoter of the first Continental Congress, to the measures and recommendations of which he faithfully adhered. When, however, the drums of Lexington awakened the Colonies from their dreams of reconciliation the attitude of the two brothers was different. While Richard, under the influences of the commanding and energetic genius of Franklin and the not less powerful attraction of his charming and intellectual wife was naturally drawn to the patriot cause, Theophylact, whose sympathies were all English and whose alliance was with a family as English as his own, stood aloof from the contest.

He seems to have had little disposition to public life, and to have carefully avoided taking any part in the bitter struggle. He was a genial, hospitable, warm-hearted gentleman. His tastes were domestic, and his only pleasure outside his own large family circle was his love of field sports and an "old country" attachment for his dog and gun. Warned

that he had incurred the suspicion of the Committee of Safety he left the city, but in a frank, manly, open manner wrote to the Committee of Congress that "since the unhappy dispute begun he had not contravened any order of the Congress, Continental or Provincial; that such was not his intention." He added his firm hope for a reconciliation, and that this once happy country might again enjoy the blessings of peace.

His later course was consistent with these professions. Returning to the city during the British occupation he distinguished himself by his kindness to the patriot prisoners, not confining his good offices to his own friends or fellow citizens alone but including all in his generous philanthropy. To this Captain Alexander Graydon, of the Pennsylvania Line, captured in 1776, bears pleasing testimony. "Whatever was the motive" he writes in his interesting memoirs, "the behavior of Mr. Bache was altogether free from intolerance and party rancor; it was more, it was hospitable and kind. His table, his Madeira and his purse were placed at the service of the unfortunate officers, even of those who were unknown to him personally or through their connections." He was also one of the Vestry charged with the care of the city poor by the British authorities.

In 1777 he was chosen President of the New York Chamber of Commerce, the fifth in the order of distinguished merchants who held this post from the organization of this first American commercial corporation in 1768. After the war he resumed his mercantile relations with Great Britain, and in 1803 took his son Andrew into his house. His old prosperity, however, had deserted him. In this he shared the fate of most of his compeers who were engaged in trade in the troublous period which followed the French revolution, when the commerce of neutral nations fell a prey to the barbarous navigation restrictions imposed by France in the "Milan decrees" and followed by England in her "orders in Council." He died in New York on the 30th October, 1807. His stature was Norman in its great size, and his instincts were large and generous. In every way he was a noble example of the English race.

By his wife Ann Dorothy Barclay he had a numerous issue. His name was continued in the line of his sons Paul Richard, Andrew and William. There are many descendants in the female line in the families of Bleecker, Satterthwaite, Lispenard and McEvers.

The portrait which prefaces this sketch is from a crayon head taken by the French emigré St. Memin, now owned by Mr. Thomas Wilkinson Satterthwaite, of New York, a grandson of Mr. Bache.

The descendants of the Philadelphia branch are quite numerous, and the name is now almost recognized as a Pennsylvania name. The whole souled patriotism of Sarah Franklin, popularly known by the endearing household name of Sally Bache, and her rare personal charms have been continued in her posterity. Her children were noted for what has been termed "their robust beauty," and of their attachment to the nation her father did so much to form no further proof is needed than the statement made by Mr. Parton, the accomplished biographer of Dr. Franklin, that of one hundred and ten descendants living in 1862 ten were serving in the Union army and not one was opposed to the national cause.

The children of Richard Bache were eight in number, Benjamin Franklin, Dr. William, Louis and Richard, all whom left issue in the male line; of his daughters Elizabeth Franklin, Deborah and Sarah intermarried with the families of Harwood, Duane and Sergeant.

In both branches this family has maintained for more than a century its reputation for intellectual and moral excellence.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

NARRATIVE BY
CAPTAIN JOHN STUART
OF GENERAL ANDREW LEWIS' EXPEDITION
AGAINST THE INDIANS IN THE
YEAR 1774, AND OF THE BATTLE
OF PLEASANT POINT,
VIRGINIA.

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—The subjoined sketch is believed to be the most authentic account in existence in this country of the expedition which terminated in the battle of the Virginia colonists with the Indians at Point Pleasant, Virginia, on the 10th of October, 1774. It was written by Capt. John Stuart, who was a prominent actor in the thrilling events which marked that memorable pre-Revolutionary struggle. The original manuscript of this sketch, now in my possession, bears the marks of age, and I am assured from its history previous to its reaching my hands that it is the genuine narrative penned or dictated by Capt. Stuart himself. It is given below *literatim*, except as to a few corrections in orthography and punctuation. All the historical accounts of this expedition and battle in print are based upon this narrative of Capt. Stuart.

Although General Andrew Lewis, "the hero of Point Pleasant," as he has justly been designated, was a leading actor in the events in which he figured, fame has trumpeted to the world his brave exploits with feebler tone than the deeds of many other heroes of lesser note. History has been satisfied with a few fragmentary allusions to some salient incidents in his military career. Yet these few are of such a striking character that, like the sententious aphorisms of an-

cient Grecian sages, or the renowned deeds of Spartan and Roman valor, they have been crystallized into historic gems which adorn the pages of history with no doubtful lustre. One who was deemed worthy by General Washington to be invested with the high office of Commander-in-Chief of the American army, needs no weightier testimonial to his character as a brave soldier and skillful military chieftain.

His adopted State, Virginia, whose sturdy mountaineers he led in many a bloody frontier encounter, has at last paid him the debt of honor due him, long delayed, by placing his statue in that group of statues of her most eminent sons which encircle the base of her Washington monument at Richmond.

This monument was erected at the public expense, "to serve as a memorial to future ages of the love of a grateful people" for the illustrious Washington. It is a memorial of not only the people's gratitude, but of their devoted patriotism, symbolized by the equestrian statue which crowns the structure of him who will be known in all coming time as the "Father of his country." And this marble pile commemorates besides these Spartan virtues others no less meritorious. Six allegorical figures, symbolizing "Colonial Times," "Justice," "Revolution," "Independence," "Bill of Rights," and "Finance" encircle the monument, thus epitomizing the great struggle through which Virginia, as an integral part of the American nation, passed in her march from foreign vassalage to perfect civil liberty.

Andrew Lewis, whose statue is coupled with that representing "Colonial Times,"

stands, as it were, on the very threshold of that era which was fraught with such momentous events. Like Janus, the heathen deity of Rome, his resolute arm helped to push aside the brazen doors through which the conquering colonists marched forth to victory, for in the language of the annexed sketch, "This Battle (of Point Pleasant) was, in fact, the beginning of the Revolutionary War, that has obtained for our country the liberty and independence enjoyed by the United States."

The following brief sketch of his life is chiefly drawn from Howe's Historical Collections of Virginia.

Andrew Lewis was descended from Huguenot on his paternal and from Celtic ancestry on his maternal side. He was born in the province of Ulster, Ireland, about the year 1730, and was brought to Virginia in early childhood by his father, John Lewis, who settled in Augusta county, and founded the town of Staunton. Andrew entered the military service of the colony at the commencement of the French and Indian wars, and was with Washington at the capitulation of Fort Necessity, July 6th, 1754. He was promoted to the rank of Major, and in the year 1756 commanded the abortive "Sandy Creek Expedition" against the Shawnees. He accompanied Major Grant, of the British army, on his disastrous reconnoissance of Fort Duquesne in 1758, and acquired during that campaign the highest reputation for courage and prudence. He was captured by the enemy and kept as a prisoner at Fort Duquesne until that post was abandoned by the French.

After the war Major Lewis resided on

Roanoke river, in Botetourt (now Roanoke) county. In 1774, while representing that county in the House of Burgesses, hostilities were renewed between the whites and Indians on the western frontier. Lewis was appointed Brigadier General by Governor Dunmore and assigned to the command of the forces raised in Botetourt, Augusta and adjoining counties. General Lewis marched his troops to Point Pleasant, at the junction of the great Kanawha with the Ohio, and on the 10th of October, 1774, gained a victory over the most formidable Indian force that ever assembled within the limits of the Old Dominion. The Indians were led by the celebrated Shawnee warrior Cornstalk.

Washington had so high an opinion of the bravery and military skill of General Lewis that at the commencement of the Revolutionary war he recommended him to Congress for appointment as one of the Major Generals of the American Army. It is also said that when Washington was commissioned as Commander-in-Chief he expressed the wish that the appointment had been given to General Lewis. Congress did not appoint Lewis a Major-General; a slight which elicited from Washington a letter to General Lewis expressive of his regret at the course pursued by Congress. At his solicitation Lewis accepted the commission of Brigadier-General, and was soon after ordered to the command of the Virginia troops stationed near Williamsburg. On the 9th of July, 1776, he expelled Lord Dunmore from his retreat on Gwynn's Island (on the Chesapeake, east of Mathews County). General Lewis resigned his command in

1780 to return home, being ill with a fever, contracted in the low country. He died on his way, in Bedford County, about thirty miles from his own home on the Roanoke, lamented by all acquainted with his meritorious services and superior qualities.

His remains were brought to the county of Botetourt (now Roanoke), and were interred on his farm, which lies adjacent to the present town of Salem, the county seat of Roanoke County. Like the last resting places of many of the world's worthies, the burial place of General Lewis is almost "unknown," and certainly is "unhonored and unsung." It is located on a commanding eminence about one mile from Salem, overlooking one of the most lovely landscapes in the State of Virginia. The grave bears the marks of utter loneliness and neglect. It is situated in the midst of a dense, tangled copse of brambles and bushes. The only thing to mark the spot as being the burial place of one who figured so conspicuously and honorably in the annals of our country is a large boulder-stone lying at the head of the grave and having simply painted on it the name, "Gen. Andrew Lewis." The grave was thus marked a few years since by a gentleman who at one time owned the land to which it belonged. Had it not been for his thoughtful and patriotic care, perhaps in a few years there would have been no trace of its existence. A cemetery association, composed of citizens of Salem and vicinity, who have in the last few years laid out and opened a beautiful cemetery on the outskirts of the town, have selected and set apart a lot to contain the sleeping ashes of the

dead hero. Here, we trust, at some future time a monument suited to his character and public services will be erected to his memory. WM. MC C.

Salem, Va., August 13th, 1877.

NARRATIVE.—About the year 1749, a person who was a Citizen of the County of Frederick, and subject to paroxysms of lunacy, when influenced by such Fits, usually made excursions into the Wilderness, and in his Rambles Westwardly fell in on the Waters of Greenbrier River. At that time the Country on the Western Waters was but little known to the English Inhabitants of the then Colonies of America, being claimed by the French, who had commenced settlements on the Ohio and its Waters west of the Alleghany Mountains. The lunatic, being surprised to find Waters running a different Course from any he had before known, returned with the Intelligence of his Discovery, which abounded with Game. This soon excited the Enterprise of others, and two men from New England of the name of Jacob Marlin and Stephen Suel, took up a Residence on Greenbrier River; but soon disagreeing in sentiment, a quarrel occasioned their separation, and Suel, for the sake of peace, quit their Cabin and made his Abode in a large Hollow Tree. In this situation they were found by the late Genl. Andrew Lewis. In year 1751 Mr. Lewis was appointed Agent for a Company of Grantees, who obtained from the Governour and Council of Virginia an order for 100,000 Acres of land, lying on the Waters of Greenbrier River, and did, this year, proceed to make Surveys

to complete the quantity of said granted lands; and finding Marlin and Suel living in the neighborhood of each other, inquired what could induce them to live separate in a Wilderness so distant from the Habitations of any other human being. They informed him that the Difference of Opinions occasioned their Separation, and that they had since enjoyed more Tranquility and a better Understanding; for Suel said, that each morning, when they arose, and Marlin came out of the Great House and he from his Hollow Tree, they saluted each other, saying "good morning, Mr. Marlin," and "good morning, Mr. Suel," so that a good Understanding then existed between them, but it did not last; for Suel removed about forty Miles further West to a Creek that still bears his Name; there the Indians found him and Killed him.

Previous to the year 1755 Mr. Lewis had completed for the grantees under the Order of Council, upwards of 50,000 Acres, and the War then commencing between England and France, nothing further was done in the Business until the year 1761, when his Majesty issued his Proclamation, commanding all his Subjects within the Bounds of the Colony of Virginia, who were living or had made Settlements on the Western Waters, to remove from them, as the lands were claimed by the Indians, and good Policy required that a peaceable Understanding should be preserved with them to prevent Hostilities on their Part. The Order of Council was never afterwards carried into Effect, or his Majesty's consent obtained to confirm it. At the Commencement of the Revolution, when

the State of Virginia began to assume Independance, and held a Convention in 1776, some Efforts were made to have the Order of Council established under the New Order of Things, then beginning to take Place, but it was not confirmed, and the Commissioners were appointed in 1777 to grant Certificates to each Individual who had made Settlements on the Western Waters in Virginia previous to the year 1768, and since, with preference according to the Time of Improvements, which Certificate gave the Holder a Right to 400 Acres for his Settlement claims, and the Pre-emption of 1,000 more, if so much was found clear of prior Claims and the holder chose to accept.

The following year, 1778, Greenbrier was separated from Botetourt County, and the County took its name from the River, which was so named by old Col. John Lewis, father of the late Genl. Lewis and one of the Grantees under the Order of Council, who, in company with his Son Andrew, exploring the Country in 1751, entangled himself in a Bunch of Greenbriers on the River and declared he would ever after call the River *Greenbrier* River.

After Peace was confirmed between England and France, in the year 1761, the Indians commenced Hostilities in 1763, when all the Inhabitants residing in Greenbrier were totally cut off by a Party of Indians, headed by the Cornstalk Warrior. The chief Settlements were on Muddy Creek. Those Indians, in number about sixty, introduced themselves into the People's Houses under a Mask of Friendship, and every Civility was offered them by the People, provid-

ing victuals and Accommodations for their Entertainment, when on a sudden they Killed the Men and made Prisoners of the Women and Children. From thence they passed over into the levels, where some Families were collected at the house of Archibald Clendinen (where the honorable Ballard Smith now lives). There were between fifty and one hundred persons, men, women and children, there. The Indians were entertained, as at Muddy Creek, in the most hospitable manner. Clendinen having just arrived from a Hunt with three fat Elks, they were plentifully feasted. In the Mean Time, an old Woman with a sore Leg was showing her Distress to an Indian, and inquiring if he could administer to her Relief, he said: "I think I can," and drawing a Tomahawk, instantly killed her, and almost all the Men that were in the House.

Conrad Youcam only escaped by being some Distance from the House. When the outcries of the Women and Children alarmed him, he fled to Jackson's River, alarmed the People, who were unwilling to believe him, until the Approach of the Indians convinced them. The People all fled before them, and they pursued on to Carr's Creek in Rockbridge County, where many Families were killed and taken by them. At Clendinen's a Scene of much Cruelty was performed, and a Negro Woman, who was endeavoring to escape, killed her own Child, that was pursuing her and crying, lest that she might be discovered by its cries. Mrs. Clendinen did not fail to abuse the Indians with Terms of Reproach, calling them Cowards, &c., al-

though the Tomahawk was drawn over her Head with Threats of instant Death, and the Scalp of her Husband lashed about her Jaws. The Prisoners were all taken over to Muddy Creek, and a party of the Indians retained them there till the Return of the others from Carr's Creek, when the whole were taken off together. On the Day they started from the Foot of Keeney's Knob, going over the mountains, Mrs. Clendinen gave her infant Child to a Prisoner Woman to carry, as the Prisoners were in the Centre of the Line, with the Indians in Front and Rear, and she escaped into a Thicket, and concealed herself till they all passed by. The Cries of the Child soon made the Indians inquire for the mother, who was missing, and one of them said: "I will soon bring the Cow to her Calf," & taking the Child by the Heels, he beat out its Brains against a Tree, and throwing it down in the Path, all marched over it, until its Guts were tramped out with the Horses. She told me that She returned that Night in the Dark to her own House, a distance of more than ten miles, and covered her Husband's Corpse with Rails, which lay in the yard where he was killed in endeavoring to escape over a Fence with one of his Children in his Arms; and then She went into a Corn Field, where great Fear came upon her, and She imagined She saw a man standing by her within a few steps.

The Indians continued the War until 1764, and with much Depredation, on the Frontier Inhabitants, making excursions as far as within a few miles of Staunton. An end, however, was put to the War in the Fall of that year by the march of an Army, under the command

of Col. Bouquette, a British officer, who assembled with his Regular Troops at Fort Pitt some Companies of Militia from Augusta County and other Places, which, I believe, either volunteered their services or were such as were ordered on the Frontiers to protect the Inhabitants during the War. Col. Bouquette held a Treaty with the Indians some where near Muskingum, and the Indians delivered up many Prisoners, who returned to their Friends, and a Peace was concluded which continued until the year 1774.

I do not remember of hearing it alleged by any one what occasioned the War on the part of the Indians in 1763 (being then very young); but about that Time the British Government had passed an Act of parliament to tax the American Colonies; but, on the Remonstrance of the People and the Opposition of some of the British Politicians, they repealed the Law. I have since thought that they had been urged to it by private British Agency, as it is well known they were influenced that Way to commence the War in 1774.

In the Spring of that year General Lewis represented the County of Botetourt for the Assembly, and his Brother, Col. Charles Lewis, represented the County of Augusta at Williamsburg, which was then the Capital of our Government. During the Sitting of the Assembly in the Month of April or May Government received Intelligence of the hostile appearances of the Indians, who had fallen on the Traders in the Nation, and put them all to death, and were making other arrangements for the War.

General Lewis and his brother Charles

sent an Express immediately to the Frontier Settlements of their respective Counties, requesting them to put themselves in a posture of Defense. They had, each, the command of the Militia in their Counties, at that Time. And I was ordered by General Lewis to send out some Scouts to watch the Warrior-Path beyond the Settlements lately made in Greenbrier, which had re-commenced in the year 1769. We were few in Number, and in no Condition to oppose an Attack from any considerable Force. But Succour was promised us, as soon as they could arrive from the Assembly; and in the mean Time, arrangements were made for the carrying on an Expedition against the Shawnees, between the Earl of Dunmore, who was then Governor of Virginia, and the Lewises, before they left Williamsburg; the Governor to have the Command of the Northern Division of an Army of Volunteer Militia, or otherwise Draughts, to be collected from the Counties of Frederick, Shenandoah, and the Settlements towards Fort Pitt; Genl Lewis to have the Command of a Southern Division of like Troops, collected from the Counties of Augusta, Botetourt, and the Adjacent Counties below the Blue Ridge. Col. Charles Lewis was to command the Augusta Troops, and Col. William Fleming the Botetourt Troops under Genl Lewis. The Governour was to take his Route by the Way of Pittsburg, and Genl Lewis down the Kanahway, the whole Armies to assemble at the mouth of the great Kanahway on the Ohio River.

General Lewis's Army assembled in Greenbrier at Camp Union (now Lewis-

burg) about the 4th September, 1774, amounting in all to about eleven hundred men, and proceeded from thence on their March, on the 11th Day of said Month. The Captains commanding the Augusta Volunteers were Capt. George Mathews, Capt. Alexander McClanaghan, Capt. John Dickeson, Capt. John Lewis, Capt. Benjamin Harrison, Capt. William Naul, Capt. Joseph Haynes and Capt. Sam'l Wilson. They commanding the Botetourt Companies were Capt. Matthew Arbuckle, Capt. John Murray, Capt. John Lewis, Capt. James Robison, Capt. Robert McClanaghan, Capt. James Ward, and Capt. John Stuart.¹ In the Course of that Summer, and not long after We received Notice of the hostile Appearance of the Indians, they came up the Kanahway and Killed Walter Kelley.

Kelley had begun a Settlement about twelve miles below the great Falls when they made the Attack, and Col. John Fields of Culpepper County was at Kelley's about to make some Surveys on military Claims, or otherwise. He had with him several of his Neighbors, and one or two Negroes. I had sent an Express to them with Advice to remove immediately, as it was apprehended the Indians were about to break out, and that they were in great Danger. Kelley, who I believe was a Fugitive from the Back Parts of South Carolina, and of a bold and intrepid Disposition, received my Intelligence with Caution, and sent off his Family and stock for Greenbrier with his brother, a young man of equal suspicious Character. But Fields, trusting more to his own Consequence and

¹ This Captain John Stuart was the author of this narrative. W. McC.

better knowledge of publick Facts, endeavoured to persuade Kelley there was no Danger, as Nothing of the Kind had been before heard of, and our Greenbrier Intelligence not worth noticing. On the Evening of the same Day, and before Kelly's Brother and Family had got out of hearing of the Guns, the Indians came on Kelley and Fields, where they were taking leather from a Tan Trough, at a small Distance from the Cabin, fired on them, and Killed Kelley on the Spot. Fields ran into the Cabin, where their Guns were all unloaded. He picked up one, and recollecting it was not charged, ran out of the House into a Corn Field within a few steps of the Door, and left his Negro Girl and Scotch Boy crying at the Door. The Boy was Killed and the Girl carried off. Fields made his Escape, but never saw an Indian. Kelley's Brother gave Information that he heard Guns fire soon after he started with the Family, and expected his brother and Col. Fields were Killed. I prepared to go and see what was the consequence; raised about ten or fifteen Men, and proceeded on our Way to the Kanahway about ten miles, when I met Col. Fields naked, except his shirt. His Limbs was grievously lacerated with Briers and Brush, his Body worn down with Fatigue and Cold, having run in that Condition from the Kanahway, upwards of eighty miles, through the Woods. He was then, I guess upwards of fifty years old, but of a hardy, strong constitution. He was afterwards killed in the Battle on the 10th of October following. But a fatality pursued the Family of Kelley, for the Indians came to Greenbrier, on Muddy Creek, and killed young

Kelley, and took his Niece prisoner about three Weeks after they had killed her Father.

About this Time the Disputes between the British Government and the Colonies began to run high, on Account of the Duties laid upon Tea imported to this Country, and much suspicion was entertained that the Indians were urged by the British Agents to begin a War upon us, and to kill the Traders then in the Nation. However that might be, Facts afterwards corroborated those suspicions. The Mouth of the great Kanahway is distant from Camp Union about 160 miles, the Way mountainous and rugged. At the Time we commenced our march, no Tract or Path was made, and but few white men had ever seen the place. Our principal pilot was Capt. Matthew Arbuckle; our Bread Stuff was packed upon Horses, and Drovers of Cattle furnished our meat, of which We had a plentiful Supply, as Drovers of Cattle and pack Horses came in succession after us; but We went on expeditiously under every Disadvantage, and arrived at Point Pleasant about the 1st of October, where we expected the Earl of Dunmore would meet us with his Army; who was to have come down the River from Fort Pitt, as was previously determined between the Commanders. But in this Expectation we were greatly disappointed, for his Lordship pursued a different Route, and had taken his March from Pittsburg by Land towards the Shawnee Towns. Gen'l Lewis finding himself disappointed in meeting the Governor and his Army at Point Pleasant, despatched two Scouts up the river, by land, to Fort Pitt, to endeavour to learn the Cause of the Dis-

appointment, and our Army remained encamped to await their Return. Before we marched from Camp Union we were joined by Col. John Field, with a Company of Men from Culpepper, and Capt. Thomas Buford, from Bedford County, also three other Companies under the Command of Capt. Evan Shelby, Capt. William Russell and Capt. Harbert, from Holston (now Washington County.) Those Troops were to compose a Division, commanded by Col. William Christian, who was then convening more Men in that quarter of the Country with a View of pursuing us to the Mouth of the great Kanahway, where the whole Army were all expected to meet, and proceed from thence to the Shawnee Towns. The last mentioned five Companies completed our Army to eleven hundred Men. During the the time our Scouts were going expressly up the River to Fort Pitt, the Governor had despatched three men, lately Traders amongst the Indians, down the River expressly to Gen'l Lewis, to inform him of his new Plan and the Route he was about to take, with Instructions to pursue on our March to the Shawnee Towns, where he expected to assemble with us, but what Calculations he might have made for Delay or other Disappointments that might happen to two armies under so long and difficult a March through a trackless wilderness I never could guess; or how he could suppose they would assemble at a Conjuncture so critical as the Business then in question required, was never Known to any one. The Governor's Express arrived at our Encampment on Sunday, the 9th Day of October, and on that Day it was my lot

to command the Guard. One of the Men was of the name of McCullough, with whom I had made some Acquaintance in Philadelphia, in the Year 1766, at the Indian Queen, where we both happened to lodge. This man, supposing I was in Lewis's Army, inquired and was told I was on Guard. He made it his Business to visit me and renew our Acquaintance, and in the Course of the Conversation I had with him he informed me that he had recently left the Shawnee Towns and gone to the Governor's Camp, which made me desirous to know his opinion of our expected success to subdue the Indians, and whether he thought they would be presumptuous enough to offer to fight us, as we supposed we had a Force superior to any Thing they could oppose to us. He answered: "Ah! they will give you Grinders, and that before long," and repeating it over again with an oath, swore we would get Grinders very soon. I believe he and his Companions left our Camp that evening to return to the Governor's Camp; and the next Morning two young Men set out very early to hunt for Deer. They happened to ramble up the River two or three Miles, and on a sudden fell on the Indian Camp, who had crossed the River on the Evening before, and was just about fixing for Battle. They discovered the young men and fired upon them; one was Killed, the other escaped and got into the Camp just before Sunrise. He stopped before my Tent, and I discovered a Number of Men collecting round him as I lay in bed. I jumped up and approached him, to know what was the Alarm, when I heard him declare he saw above five Acres of land covered with

Indians, as thick as one could stand beside another. Gen'l Lewis immediately ordered a Detachment of Augusta Troops, under his brother Charles Lewis, and another Detachment of Botetourt Troops, under Col. William Fleming. These were composed of the Companies commanded by the eldest Captains, and the Junior Captains were ordered to stay in Camp to aid the others as occasion might require. The Detachments marched out in two lines, and met the Indians in the same Order of March, about four hundred yards from our Camp, and in sight of the Guard. The Indians made the first fire, and Killed both the Scouts in Front of the lines just as the Sun was rising. A very heavy fire soon commenced and Col. Lewis was mortally wounded, but walked into the Camp, and died a few minutes afterwards, observing to Col. Charles Sims with his last Words: "I have sent one of the Enemy to Eternity before me." During his life it was his lot to have frequent skirmishes with the Indians, in which he was always successful, and gained much Applause for his Intrepidity, and was greatly beloved by his Troops. Col. Fleming was also wounded, and our Men had given Way some Distance before they were re-enforced by other Companies issuing in succession from the Camp, when the Indians in Turn had to retreat until they had formed a line behind logs and Trees across from the Bank of the Ohio to the Banks of the Kanahway, and kept up their fire till Sun-Set.

The Indians were exceedingly active in concealing their Dead that were Killed, and I saw a young Man draw

out three that were covered with Leaves, beside a large log, in the Midst of the Battle. Col. Christian came with Troops to our Camp that Night about eleven O'Clock; Gen'l Lewis having dispatched a messenger up the Kanahway to give him Notice we were engaged, and to hasten his March to our Assistance. He brought about three hundred Men with him, and marched out early the next Morning over the Battle Ground, found twenty-one of the Enemy slain on the Ground, and Twelve more were afterwards found, all concealed in one Place, and the Indians confessed they had thrown a Number into the River in Time of the Battle. So that it is possible the slain on both sides are about equal. We had twenty-five Killed and one hundred and forty wounded. The Indians were headed by their Chief, the Cornstalk Warrior, who, in his plan of March and Retreat, discovered great Military Skill. Amongst the slain on our Side were Col. Charles Lewis, Col. John Field, Capt. Buford, Capt. Murray, Capt. Ward, Capt. Wilson, Capt. Robert McClanaghan, Lieut. Allen, Lieut. Goldsby, Lieut. Dillen and other subaltern officers.

Col. Field had raised his Company as I believe under no particular Instructions, and seemed from the Time he joined our Army at Camp Union, to assume an Independence, not subject to the Control of others. His claims to such privileges might have risen from some former military Service, in which he had been engaged, which entitled him to a Rank, that ought to relieve him from being subject to Control by Volunteer Commanders, and when we marched from Camp Union he took a separate

Route, and on the third day after our Departure, two of his Men, of the Name of Coward and Clay, who left the Company to look for Deer for Provisions as they marched, fell in with two Indians on the Waters of the little Meadows. As Clay passed round the Root of a large log, under which one of the Indians was concealed, he killed Clay, and running up to scalp him, Coward killed him, being at some Distance behind Clay. They both fell together on the same spot; the other Indian fled and passed our Scouts unarmed. A Bundle of Ropes was found where they killed Clay, which manifested their intention was to steal Horses. Col. Field joined us again that Evening and separated no more until we arrived at Point Pleasant, the Mouth of the great Kanahway.

After the Battle we had different Accounts of the Number of Indians that attacked us. Some asserted there were upwards of one Thousand; some said no more than four or five hundred. The correct Number was never known to us; however, it was certain they were combined of different nations, Shawanees, Winedotts and Delawares. Of the former there is no Doubt the whole strength of the Nation was engaged in the Battle. And on the Evening of the Day before the Battle, when they were about to cross over the River, the Cornstalk proposed to the Indians, if they were agreed, he would come and talk with us and endeavor to make Peace, but they would not listen to him. The next day, as we are informed, he killed one of the Indians for retreating in the Battle in a cowardly manner. I could hear him the whole Day speaking to his men very

loudly, and one of my Company, who had once been a prisoner, told me what he was saying was encouraging the Indians, saying: "be strong, be strong."

None will suppose we had a contemptible Enemy with whom to do, who has any knowledge of the Exploits performed by them. It was chiefly the Shawnees that cut off the British Army under Genl. Braddock in the year 1755, and nineteen years before our Battle, when the Genl. himself, and Sir Peter Hackett, second in Command, were both slain, and a mere remnant of the whole Army only escaped. And they were they who defeated Maj. Grant and his Scotch Highlanders at Fort Pitt in 1758, when the whole of the Troops were killed and taken prisoners. And after our Battle they defeated all the Flower of the first bold and intrepid Settlers of Kentucky at the Battle of the Blue Licks. There fell Col. John Todd and Col. Stephen Trigg. The whole of their men were almost all cut to pieces. Afterwards they defeated the United States Army over the Ohio, commanded by Genl. Harmer, and lastly they defeated Genl. Arthur St. Clair's great Army with prodigious Slaughter.

I believe it was never before known that so many Indians were ever killed in any Engagement with the White People as fell by the Army of Genl. Lewis at Point Pleasant. They are now dwindled to Insignificance, and no longer noticed, and Futurity will not easily perceive the prowess of which they were possessed. Of all the Indians the Shawnees were the most bloody and terrible, holding all other Men, Indians as well as White Men, in Contempt as Warriors, in com-

parison with themselves. This opinion made them more restless and fierce than any other Savages, and they boasted that they had killed ten Times as many white people as any other Indians had. They were well-formed, active and ingenious people; were assuming and imperious in the presence of others not of their own Nation, and sometimes very cruel.

Genl. Lewis's Army were all chiefly young Volunteers, well trained in the Woods to the use of Arms, as hunting in those days was much practised and preferred to Agriculture by enterprising young men. The produce of the soil was of little Value on the West side of the Blue Ridge; the Ways bad and the Distance too great to market to make it esteemed. Such pursuits inured them to Hardships and Danger.

We had more than every fifth man in our Army killed or wounded in the Battle, but none was disheartened. All crossed the River, fully determined to destroy the Enemy, with Cheerfulness, and had they not been restrained by the Governour's Orders, I believe they would have exterminated the Shawnee Nation.

This Battle was in Fact the beginning of the revolutionary war that has obtained for our Country the Liberty and Independence enjoyed by the United States (and a good presage of future success), for it is well known the Indians were influenced by the British to commence the War, to terrify and confound the people before they, the British, commenced Hostilities themselves the following year at Lexington, in Massachusetts.

It was thought by British Politicians that to excite an Indian War would pre-

vent a Combination of the Colonies to the opposing of parliamentary measures to tax the Americans; therefore the blood spilt in this memorable Battle will long be remembered by all the good Citizens of Virginia and the United States with Gratefulness.

The Indians passed over the Ohio River in the Night Time after the Battle, and made the best of their Way back to the Shawnee Towns on the Sciota. And after burying our Dead, Gen'l Lewis ordered Intrenchments to be made round our Camp by extending across from the Ohio to the Kanahway, to secure the wounded, under an officer, with an adequate Number of Men to protect them in safety, and marched his Army across the Ohio for the Shawnee Towns. In this Command he had many difficulties to encounter, of which none can well judge who has never experienced similar Troubles, to preserve order and necessary Discipline over an Army of Volunteers, who had no knowledge of the use of Discipline or military order, when in an Enemy's Country well skilled in their own Manner of Warfare. And it is well remembered that the youth of our Country, previous to those Times, had grown up in Times of peace, and were quite unacquainted with military operations of any kind. Ignorance of these Duties, together with high Notions of Independence and Equality of Condition, rendered the Service extremely difficult and disagreeable to the Commander, who was by nature of a lofty and high military Spirit, and who had seen much military Service under Gen'l Braddock and other Commanders.

FRENCH COLONIZATION ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

Advice from France. Monsieur d'Iberville, who was sent to make a Discovery of the River *Missisipi*, return'd to *Rochel* the 29th of the last month, having performed the charge of his Commission with as good success as could be expected from him. He found the Mouth of the River very much pest'er'd by the fall of several great Trees, which hinder the entrance of great Ships, though the water was very deep. He says the Current is very rapid; however he made a shift to Row against the Stream with two Shallops, and two Canots made of the Bark of Trees, above a Hundred Leagues up the River as far as a certain place, where the same River forms a little Arm, by which he came back. Having made all these Observations, he Order'd a Wooden Fort to be built at the Mouth of the River, with four Bastions, and Garrison'd it with 24 Men. He also caus'd to be sown in the Lands adjoyning, all sorts of Grain that grow in *France*; which Grains were come up before his departure, which was the 31st of *May*. He return'd through the Straight of *Bahama*; the Advantage of this Establishment is, that the New Fort is not above 60 Leagues distant from the Southern Savages with whom the French trade.—*The State of Europe, July, 1699.*

Advice from France. Since the Discovery of the River *Missisipi* in *America*, there has been another more considerable made by Eleven Frenchmen, about Eight Years ago, but of which no Infor-

mation was giv'n till within this little while, as well by advice from *St. Domingo*, whither one of these Discoverers, after some Hardships, got safe with much ado; as also from *Brest* where another of these Discoverers landed about the beginning of this month. Both report, that sailing up the River *Missisipi* in *Canada*, they saw another River to the North-West which was to them unknown. They sailed up this River, and after a Navigation of about 300 Leagues, they met with a Civiliz'd People very Courteous, and by whom they were receiv'd and treated very kindly. Nor were they less surpris'd by the magnificence of the People, who made use of nothing but Gold for every thing, and made so slight of it, that they let 'em carry away as much as they could load in their Canou. But in their return they were taken by the English then at War with *France*. They add that the English not being satisfy'd with their Booty, would needs know of their prisoners where they had it: which the French not being willing to discover, they put three to the Rack, who dy'd under their Torments, without making any Discovery. That the rest fearing the same Usage, took part with the English, except the two above mention'd, who escaping different ways, yet agree in their Report. Some Geographers, to who the Court order'd that this discovery should be made, judge by the Situation of this River, that if you could ascend as high as the Spring, which must come from the West, you might afterwards find a way to go to *Japan* which they believe to be not far distant. But this may be joined together with the news of the Archbishop of Cambray, that

is to say it wants confirmation. — *The State of Europe, May, 1700.*

Advice from France. Our Settlement at the Mouth of the *Mississippi* will cost us much more Pains and Trouble before it is brought to Perfection. In the mean time it makes the English no less jealous than the Spaniards. The first had a design to have made themselves Masters of our Fort, and came up with two Frigates, and Three Hundred Men, but finding Two of the King's Men of War in the Road, they retreated, after they had paid several Civilities to the Commanders, and eaten with 'em several times. Another English Ship of Twelve Guns sail'd up the River above thirty Leagues beyond our Fort, but *M. d'Iberville* forc'd her to return, and at the same time took an Englishman who treated with the Savages, our Confederates. He came into that Country through the River *Oye*, which after a Course of Two hundred Leagues, throws itself into the *Mississippi* Two hundred and Twenty Leagues from the Mouth. The Englishman was sent to *Quebeck* in order to be conveyed into *England*; by his Example to make the English desist from Trading in that Country. We have discover'd Two other Mouths of the River *Mississippi*, besides that upon which our Fort is built. Now in regard to whatever we sowed in the Parts thereabout it has produced nothing, because the Ground is dry and sandy. *M. d'Iberville* has caused another Fort to be built about Thirty-five Leagues to the North-West upon good Land. 'Tis believ'd that the New Fort is not above Fifty Leagues from the Mines of

Zacathea, but that Discovery being yet in its Infancy we can expect no benefit from it so soon. The same Commander had sailed very high up the River, and join'd M. *de Tonti* who gave him several skins for which he had traffick'd in his way. They were like Cow Hides of an extraordinary Bigness cover'd with wool, and which would be of great use for Coaches; but before his Departure he was to conclude an Alliance with a very numerous Nation, adjoining to New *Mexico*, and an irreconcilable Enemy of the Spaniards, with whom they are always at Wars.—
The State of Europe, August, 1700.

Advice from France. 'Tis confidently reported that M. *d'Iberville* is departed this Life at *Rochel*; which if it be true, the Discovery of Mississippi is like to come to nothing. Yet there is a letter written from *Rochefort*, to a person of quality in *Paris*, which contains a short Account of M. *d'Iberville's* last Voyage. Says the Author of that Letter "The River of Mississippi might dispute in Beauty with the most Renowned Rivers in the World, were it not for a Shelf that lies before the Mouth of it, where there is not above Ten Foot Water, so that none but small Frigates and Flat Bottom'd Boats can get into it. The Banks of it are cover'd with great high Trees, embrac'd by Bastard Vines, that bear grapes very beautiful to the Sight, but no way pleasant to the Taste. The Channel of the River is twice as large as that of the *Seine*, keeping the same breadth all along. The Stream is rapid, though it be full of Windings and Turnings from the North-West for above Nine Hundred Leagues. Among others, it receives into it, Two considerable

Rivers, which the Natives of the Country call *Ouabache* and *Missoury*. The first runs a long course from the North-East, but we have only an imperfect knowledge of it. Hunting and Fishing are equally plentiful; we saw there Cows that bare Wool of a prodigious Bigness and Roe-Bucks in great Numbers, that are both delightful and profitable. Rowing up the River, we met with above Fifty Forts of Savage Nations, as well upon the Banks as in the Parts adjoining, the most numerous of which did not amount to above One thousand Men; the people are well set, and tall enough but without any Religion; and they frequently make War upon one another for the possession of Women; striving to enlarge our Discovery, we lit upon one of these Nations, who upon our Arrival were so kind as to leap upon our shoulders in Sign of Peace, and pushed on their Civility so far, as to rock us all night; but we admitted the impertinent Ceremony for fear of worse. We saw 'em throw three Children into the Fire, by way of Sacrifice, upon Occasion of Thunder, and they would have sacrific'd Seven, according to Custom, had we not given 'em to understand that such a barbarous Action rather provok'd than appeas'd the grand Thunderer. They still preserve some Remains of Ancient Paganism, as to kill a great Number of Men and Women upon the death of their principal Sovereign, to bear him Company, and it is a great Favour to obtain leave to follow the dead into the other world. They knock their old People o' th' Head, out of a Principle of Charity, and they carefully preserve their Bones in a Temple like a *Duomo*, where a

Sacred Fire burns Night and Day in Honour of their Dead. I know not how the Spaniards of *Mexico* will like our Neighborhood. They show'd themselves some days after our Arrival, with their Fire Arms in their hands, doubtless to have given us a short Summons to depart the Country, but finding us more numerous than themselves they pretended they came to pay us a Visit, which occasioned a kind Reception on our side. We had a great deal of Discourse of the Country, but all to no purpose."—*The State of Europe, October, 1700.*

NOTES

PAANPAACK THE SITE OF TROY, N. Y. Brodhead, in his History of the State of New York, vol. I. p. 534, referring to the several purchases of land from the Indians, by Van Rensselaer's agent Van Slechtenhorst, states:—"He (Van Slechtenhorst) had just purchased for his patrol two large additional tracts on the east side of the river; one called 'Paanpaack,' including the site of the present city of Troy, and another further north, called 'Panhoosic.'"

The name "Paanpaack," since its appearance in history, has been generally assumed to be an Indian designation of the territory in which Troy is now situated. This acceptance of the word, as may appear upon investigation, has not sufficient evidence to sustain it. The eminent historian, in the way in which he employs the term, does not directly affirm that it was an Indian title for the aforesaid tract of land. In the preparation of the History of the City of Troy, after

a protracted and careful search among the Indian records in the office of the Secretary of State, I was satisfied that the authority for the use of the word was not to be found among those valuable documents.

My next attempt to discover its origin was an examination of the local Indian language as investigated by well-known writers. This endeavor was as unsatisfactory and as fruitless as the previous investigation. These disappointments, although compelling me, at the time, to relinquish further search, and to make no mention of it in the History of the City of Troy, however, did not wholly abstract my attention from the subject. Subsequently I began to consider it as belonging to the Dutch language. Etymologically, no such word or compounded term was discoverable. Then I conceived that possibly the word was mis-spelled, and that it should be considered phonetically. Sound, as the result proved, was the key to its sense. I found quite readily that "Pont," a ferry, and "Pacht" or "Pagt," a farm, compounded into Pontpacht, a farm-ferry, was of similar tone with "Paanpaack."

Why this word should be applied to the territory in question, is easily understood. When the land above Albany began to be occupied and cultivated by the early settlers, some public crossing place, where the river was not fordable, was a local necessity. Previous to the year 1786, when the site of Troy was well-known as Vanderheyden's (farm) ferry, the old land conveyances as early as 1675 referred to roads running to the river, which undoubtedly indicate a place of crossing by boat

Since Mr. Brodhead's death in 1873, there no longer exists a mode of personal inquiry regarding his authority for the use of the word. Hence the question whether he employed it, being orally informed that it was early known as Pontpacht, and wrote it Paanpaack, or had some unknown documentary evidence which gave it as an Indian designation, is an open one. The name "Panhoosic," I think, has the same relative signification, and is also a Dutch term. Apparently it is from "Pont," a ferry and from "Woeste, Woestijne," or "Woestenij," a waste or wilderness. The two interpretations correspond with the history of the above places, for while in one was a farm-ferry in the other was a wilderness-ferry, or a ferry in a territory which was uncultivated and unsettled.

Troy, N. Y.

A. J. WEISE.

INDIAN AND FRENCH HISTORY IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.—In reading the interesting article in the January number of the Magazine by O. H. Marshall, Esq., in which the writer, in a review of Champlain's expedition against the Onondagas in 1615, points out a discrepancy between the text of the narrative and the accompanying map; the suggestion came to me to call attention to an error in the map (vol. 2, p. 52) in the memoirs of M. Pouchot of the war between the French and the English in 1755-60; translated and edited by F. B. Hough in 1866.

On this map the River Schatacoin is erroneously laid down as the outlet of Chautaugue lake, a stream now known as the Conewango creek.

According to Pouchot, the first transportation from Lake Erie to the Ohio

river was by the Chatacoin river, but the French finding the waters of that stream too shallow, preferred the route by the Rivière aux Boeufs.

Now the locality of both these streams is well established; the Chatacoin creek being the stream which flows through Leboeuf lake at Waterford, in Erie County, Pennsylvania, and the Rivière aux Boeufs (of which the Chatacoin is a tributary) being the stream now known as French Creek, the original Indian name being Toradakoin.

In the History of Western Pennsylvania, &c., published in 1847, by W. O. Hickok, at p. 35, is given a copy of an inscription on a medal deposited on the 29th day of July, 1749, by Louis Celeron, Commandant, &c., at the junction of the Belle Rivière (Ohio) and the Toradakoin (now French Creek) to indicate the claim made to the territory by the French Government

The name Chadacoin is differently spelled by different writers; sometimes it is written Chatacoin, sometimes Schatacoin, and in Pouchot's memoirs in vol. I. p. 178, an Indian chief is referred to named Chatacouen.

Indian names are often significant, and if any of your readers know the meaning of either Chatakoin, or Toradakoin, I should be grateful for the information. The French probably found Buffalo feeding along these streams, which led to names Lake Le Bœuf and Rivière aux Bœufs, as these animals came as far east as the Allegheny river within the period of the first white settlements. Lake Le Bœuf still retains the name given to it by the French, but the river, as before stated, is now known as French Creek.

A location first chosen sixteen miles east of Erie was abandoned, and in 1753, at Erie, was constructed the Fort known as Fort Presqu' Isle. Some attempt may have been made to use the Chatacoin (now Lebœuf Creek) for navigation, but the French, soon after building the Fort on Lake Erie, constructed a road (variously stated as fifteen and twenty-one miles long) from it to Fort Le Bœuf, and carried their provisions and munitions of war in boats from thence to the Ohio river by the Rivière aux Bœufs (now French Creek), and no mention is any where made of transportation by Chautauque Lake and the Conewango Creek.

The French had two forts near the mouth of French Creek on opposite sides of the stream, viz.: Forts Michault, which is referred to in coterminous accounts as a mean or insignificant structure, and Fort Venango, of a somewhat more elaborate character. Pouchot makes mention of Fort Michault in several places, viz.: in vol. I. at p. 132, where the French are narrated as having retreated to it from Fort Du Quesne; and in the same vol. at p. 206, where the French, in 1759, are said to have abandoned Forts Michault and Presqu' Isle, and to have retired to Detroit.

On the other hand, in the letters of Genl. Washington, Fort Venango is the only one referred to.

The site of Fort Michault, with the lapse of time, had become wholly unknown, but has lately been re-established by an old map made of it in 1753, by Judge Shippen of Pennsylvania, who, in making a draft of it, fortunately gave the points of compass connecting it with some permanent natural landmarks. An ex-

amination of these locates it with satisfactory precision, and in harmony with the few historic references to it now extant.

It will be noticed that under the French in 1753, the stream called the Belle Rivière (now the Ohio), extended northwards so as to include a part of what is now designated as the Allegheny river.

The name, Venango, according to the Rev. Timothy Alden, Editor of the Allegheny Magazine in 1816, and occasionally a missionary to the Indians on the reservation in Warren County, Pa., came from an obscene picture carved on a tree at the mouth of French Creek. The translator of Pouchot in a note says it is derived from a Seneca word, *un-num-dah*.

It would seem that a more natural derivation of this name might be found in the original Indian word for the place as given in Genl. Washington's letter to Gov. Dinwiddie, of April 27, 1754, viz.: Weningo. A rendition also given by several writers of that period.

As the French have no W in their alphabet, and use a V in place of it, and also pronounce nin very much like nan to the common ear, the transition from Weningo to Venango, under French occupancy, seems easy and natural.

According to tradition, as stated in Heckewelder's Indian Nations, two large Tribes several centuries ago emigrated from west of the Mississippi, giving to that stream the name of Namœsi Sipu, or river of Fish, from whence the present name is derived. These two tribes, the Lenni Lenape, and the Mengwe, uniting their forces, made war on the prior occupants of the country,

the Allegheny Indians, and drove them southwards out of the territory east of the Mississippi. The name Mengwe seems in time to have been corrupted into Mingo, and came into use to designate the confederate tribes known as the Iroquois or Six Nations.

That the Mingo Indians had settlements in the valley of French Creek is well known. In *Western Annals*, p. 303, it is stated that Genl. Brodhead, in 1779, was sent to strike at the Mingo and Munsey Indians upon French Creek.

Whether Mengwe, Mingo, Weningo, and Venango, spring from some common root in the Indian tongue may be an interesting subject for a philologist making a study of the aboriginal languages.

Meadville, Pa. A. HUIDEKOPER.

THE GERM OF OUR PRESENT STEAM NAVY.—Looking over some little books at the Navy Department the other day for another purpose I chanced upon several letters showing the beginning of our present steam navy forty years ago. From them I made some extracts which may be acceptable for your pages. Previous to 1837 we had in the navy the steam Battery Fulton Ist, launched at the close of the war of 1812-14, accidentally destroyed soon after, and the steam Galliot Sea Gull, employed in Porter's Musquito fleet, for the suppression of piracy in the West Indies. But Fulton IId, in 1837, was beyond question the pioneer steam war vessel of our present naval organization.

Oct. 31, 1837. The Secretary of the Navy authorizes Captain M. C. Perry "to appoint two first class and two second class assistant engineers. The

appointments to be confirmed by the Commandant of the Station." "The Engineers must receive from you" he adds, "a letter of appointment revocable at any time by the Commanding Officer of the Station, upon complaint of intemperance, incapacity, insubordination, negligence or other misconduct, preferred by the Commander of the Steamer, if proved to the satisfaction of the Commanding Officer of the Station. The Commander of the Steamer of course to have the power of suspending them from duty if necessary. The Engineers must be required to sign some proper instrument of writing, which will legally make them liable to this law for the government of the Navy, but to be exempt from corporal punishment, which instrument is to be transmitted to the Secretary of the Navy, with their letters accepting their appointments."

Nov. 7, 1837. The Secretary of the Navy wrote Capt. Perry, The Fulton was allowed, as recommended by the Commissioners of the Navy and approved by the Navy Department,

2 First Class Engineers at \$800 per annum each.
2 Second " " at \$500 per annum each.
4 Coal Heavers at \$15 per month.
8 Firemen at \$25 to \$30 per month.

Both Firemen and Coal heavers to sign the ordinary ship's articles, and to be removable at the pleasure of the Commander of the vessel, as authorized for the reduction of petty officers and seamen. "If additional coal heavers should be found necessary some of the seamen or ordinary seamen of the vessel might be designated by the commander to perform that duty." He next writes as follows:

"Navy Department, *Nov.* 21, 1837.
"Capt. M. C. Perry, Com'dg Str. Fulton,
New York,

"Sir: Your letter of the 16th inst., relative to the Engineers of the Fulton and their uniforms has been received.

"*The adoption of a uniform* such as you may approve, if agreeable to those at whose expense it is to be provided, meets with the sanction of the Department, and it is also desirable, as mentioned in your letter, that none be appointed Engineers but those of the very best standing. I am, respectfully, &c.,

M. Dickenson,
Sect'y of the Navy."

A letter dated *Dec.* 19, 1837, authorizes Capt Perry to employ, agreeable to his request, four firemen additional.

Dec. 21, 1837, the Secretary writes him "Your communication of the 17th inst. has been received, with its several enclosures, and the appointments of Assistant Engineers which you have made, as well as the measures you have taken in regard to the engagements, &c., of the Engineers, Firemen and others of the Steamer Fulton are approved by the Department."

Feb. 13, 1838, the Secretary writes Capt. Perry that he approves of his suggestion, and says: "I have directed Commodore Ridgely to place on board the Fulton five *apprentices* to the Navy, who are to be under the particular charge of the Engineers (one to each) and exclusively attached to the Engineers, and to be shipped and paid as other apprentices."

Feb. 21, 1839, the Secretary authorizes the pay of a 2d Asst. Engineer on board the Fulton to be increased from \$500 to \$600 from the 1st of March next.

March 1, 1839, he authorizes "the salary of such Engineers as now receive \$800 to be increased to \$900."

In this connection it may be interesting to note, as showing the rapid rise in importance of our steam navy, that just forty years after this commencement its personnel in 1877 consists of:

10 *Chief Engineers* on the active list ranking *relatively* with Captains in the Navy, one of whom, as Chief Engineer of the Bureau of Steam Engineering, has the relative rank of Commodore.

15 *Chief Engineers* with the relative rank of Commander.

45 *Chief Engineers* with the relative rank of Lieutenant-Commander.

89 *Passed Assistant Engineers* with the relative rank of Lieutenant.

4 *Passed Assistant Engineers* with the relative rank of Master.

24 *Assistant Engineers* with the relative rank of Master.

23 *Assistant Engineers* with the relative rank of Ensigns.

16 *Cadet Engineers*, Graduates.

51 *Cadet Engineers* at the Naval Academy.

ON THE RETIRED LIST.

5 *Chief Engineers* with relative rank of Lieutenant-Commander.

15 *Passed Assistant Engineers*, with relative rank of Lieutenant.

23 *Assistant Engineers* with the relative rank of Master.

GEORGE HENRY PREBLE.

JETTIES IN THE CONNECTICUT RIVER.

—David Thomas, in his *Travels through the Western Country*, published in the year 1819, gives the following description of a process somewhat similar to that so successfully employed by Mr. Eads on

the Mississippi. "At Buffalo I was fortunate in finding Capt. Butler, on his way to open Grand river, where a company is formed for that purpose. Capt. Butler has made himself celebrated by opening eight bars from Middletown to Hartford, on Connecticut river, so as to admit the free passage of nine feet instead of five feet water. His plan is novel, simple, cheap and effectual. It is merely to drive in piles over a sand bar, from the opposite sides, to leave a sufficient opening, and then fill in brush. The first freshet settles the sand among it, so as to form a complete beach, and by pressure of the water through the passages, a permanent channel is forced open." W. K.

NEW YORK JUSTICE TO JEWS.—"Hart Jacobs, a Jew, attending at the door, requests an exemption from doing duty on the City Watch on Friday nights, which is part of his Sabbath, thereupon a certificate was given to him in the words following, to-wit:

"Hart Jacobs, of the Jewish religion having signified to this Committee that it is inconsistent with his religious profession to perform military duty on Friday nights being part of the Jewish Sabbath, it is

"*Ordered.* That he be exempted from military duty on that night of the week, to be subject nevertheless to the performance of his full hours of duty on other nights."—*Journal of the Committee of Safety. New York, January 22, 1776.*

A.

THE WEAKER VESSEL. — Whereas, Mary, my lawful Wife, has behaved in a

very indecent Manner, refusing a virtuous Compliance with the Apostle's Injunctions to Wives; but on the contrary has made sundry Attempts to take away my Life, by stabbing me with Knives and Forks, beating me with the Distaff, Tongs and Hammer; scratching and biting me very inhumanly; and has now eloped from my Bed and Board, and refuses to cohabit with me: I therefore forbid all Persons harbouring or trusting her on my Account, for I will not pay any Debt of her contracting, after this Date. And as she has privately conveyed away a Number of valuable Articles of my Household Furniture, I also forbid any Person whatsoever concealing any such Articles on Penalty of the Law.

Pomfret.

Jonathan Soule.

Connecticut Gazette, May 8, 1778.

W. K.

FRANKLIN A TYPE-FOUNDER.—"Philadelphia, Feb. 25, 1786. I do hereby certify, whom it may concern, that the Printing Types, with which I have furnished Mr. Francis Child, contained in fifteen boxes, marked B. F., No. 9, 10, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 32, 33, 38, 53, 54, 59, 60, were made in my House, at Passy, by my servants, for my use, and were never the property of any European letter-founder, manufacturer, or merchant whatsoever. B. Franklin,

Late Minister for the United States
at the Court of France."

F. M.

CHURCH OR MEETING-HOUSE.—In the recent discussions concerning the tower from which the Signal Lantern was hung out in Boston on the Eve of the Battle

of Lexington it has been maintained that the "meeting-houses" were not called churches, that term being generally applied to Episcopal places of worship. This is the opinion of the writer, yet I give the following for what it is worth, from Bowen's *Geography* (London, 1747) vol. II. p. 679:

"Here are ten churches of all denominations, whereof six are Independents, the most prevailing in *New England*; so that the number of its Professors in *Boston* alone, is computed at about fourteen or fifteen *thousand*. Their Churches or Places of Worship, are stiled, 1. The Old Church, because it is the mother of the rest. 2. The North Church. 3. The South Church. 4. The New Church. 5. The New North Church. 6. The South Church. The first four come nearest the Presbyterians, they recite the Lord's Prayer in the publick Worship, as well as admit Persons to their Communion, without demanding a publick Confession, or the acknowledgement of a particular Church-Covenant. The other four Churches are 1. The Episcopal Church handsomely built and adorned, whose congregation is said to consist of about a thousand members. King *William* and Queen *Mary* gave them a Pulpit-cloth, a Cushion and a Piece of Painting, which reaches from the Bottom to the Top of the East End of the Church, containing the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer and the Apostle's Creed. *Thomas Brattle*, Esq., gave a Pair of Organs to it; and there's a magnificent Pew built at the Publick Charge for the Reception of the Governor, when he happens to be of the Church of *England*. Mr. *Uring* says that in 1710 when he

was here, the Church was of Wood but that another was then building of Brick. 2. The French Church. 3. The Baptist Meeting. 4. The Quakers' Meeting."

Captain Uring ("A History," &c., London, 1726, p. 111,) says of Boston: "It is very populous, and has in it Nine large Meeting Houses, and a *French* Church, and but one *English*, and that built of Wood; but I am informed, since I was in that Country, they have another building with Brick."

When Richard Devens wrote of the "N. Ch." I presume he meant Christ Church, but, according to Bowen, the North Meeting House also had the same name. D.

A LONG ISLAND LOCAL.—*South-Haven*, February 10, 1758. For the Information of the Publick, Notice is hereby given, That the Place formerly call Setacut-South (otherwise the Fire-Place), which lies at the South Side of Long Island, opposite the Town of Brook Haven, that the new Parish thereon lately erected, whereof the Revd. Mr. Abner Reeves is Minister, has by a general Vote at the last Town Meeting obtained the name of South-Haven, Which new Name they are desired to remember in all Letters directed to these Parts for the Future.—*N. Y. Mercury*, Feb. 20, 1758. W. K.

FIRST CANNON CAST IN THE REVOLUTION.—Died at Petersburg, 13th inst., Mr. John Marshall, founder, aged 77. He was a native of Scotland, and emigrated to America in 1768. He cast the first cannon made in the United States, during the Revolutionary War, at Captain Charles Ridgely's Works, Maryland.

He also gave the first draft of a boring mill for boring cannon.—*N. Y. Evening Post*, Sept. 22d, 1826.

A. H.

UNIFORM OF LAFAYETTE'S COMMAND.

—A letter from camp on the 24th of April, says, "The Marquis de la Fayette has borrowed, on his own credit, two thousand pounds hard money to purchase cloathing for the troops; and the first ladies in Baltimore are busily engaged in making up shirts, frocks and overalls for them."—*Massachusetts Spy*, May 17, 1781.

W. K.

THE POPHAM COLONY.—On the 13th September last, according to the *Brunswick Telegraph*, the Maine Historical Society had an interesting field day at Sheepscot. Among the "Bottom facts" referred to was the statement that upon the breaking up of the Popham Colony one ship and a fly boat remained behind with forty-five men. This ship is said to have been the "Gift of God." It is also said, on the authority of Strachey, that besides the store house, "fifty houses" were built.

The writer of this quite agrees with the members of the Maine Society respecting the importance of early colonization in that State. There is no doubt of the fact, that from the close of the colony in 1608 onward, Sir John Popham continued to prosecute his work at Pemaquid. The supposed "facts," however, have nothing to do with the matter; and, indeed, are not facts at all. The discovery, if I may employ the term, of one of the papers of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, recently found by the writer in England, affords

the means of correcting certain errors respecting the Colony. Therefore, I will say that the forty-five men referred to were those left behind the *first winter*.

Also, that there were only two vessels in the Popham fleet, the fly-boat referred to being another name for the "Gift of God." All went home together. There being only forty-five men left behind in the colony during the winter, the reader will readily see that Strachey's "fifty houses" should read *five*. Strachey also precipitated hot discussions respecting the exploration of the Kennebec by causing the colonists to sail up stream *forty* leagues, when, according to the journal of the pilot, he should have said *fourteen*.

B. F. D.

GROWTH OF CALIFORNIA.—The venerable Professor Forrest Shepherd says in a letter to one of his classmates: "The first school-house in Sacramento Valley, Cal., was built on my own land, and at my own expense, in 1849, when labor was \$16.00 per day, and lumber \$750.00 per thousand. In this school-house four Christian churches were organized the first four months ensuing, in addition to a flourishing sabbath school and day school." P. CLARK.

GEN. HAMILTON'S BENEVOLENCE.—The following extract from a letter printed in the *Washington City Gazette*, in the year 1818, is worthy of preservation as showing a pleasant trait in the character of Alexander Hamilton.

"As soon as it was generally known that Philadelphia had become the seat of government, a great number of the soldiers who had served in the revolutionary army,

flocked to that city—some to apply for pensions, others for arrears of pay, but all of them destitute of money: and as it was supposed that the building occupied by the Treasury department was the depository of the public Funds, the doors were frequently besieged by that meritorious class of men. I do not know what success their applications met with from other persons; but the rule prescribed by Genl. Hamilton for his own government was this:—If the applicant appeared able to work, he gave him two dollars for present subsistence; if he showed a wound, he received five dollars; and if he lost a leg or an arm, ten dollars. In this manner did that benevolent man evince his regard for the soldiers who had fought and bled to establish the liberties of their country; and when his funds were exhausted, it was his constant practice to come into the rooms occupied by the clerks, and borrow from every one who had a dollar to lend!

After Genl. Hamilton had resigned, and was on the point of leaving Philadelphia, he placed in my hands a large number of notes for collection, under a strict injunction not to apply to the parties for payment.

To relieve my brother officers in the revolutionary war, said he, I have incurred a debt, to discharge which I shall be under the necessity of selling my house in N. Y., and as it may not be in the power of the obligors to take up their notes immediately, it is not my wish to subject them to inconvenience. After a considerable lapse of time the notes were all paid, and I have in my possession the General's letter acknowledging the receipt of the same.

"Among the very few enjoyments that remain to me"—says this old Philadelphian, who signs himself *Senex*—"at my advanced period of life, there is none which affords me so much pleasure as to observe that the opinions which, during the party spirit, had been entertained to the prejudice of this honest and enlightened Statesman, are undergoing a rapid change in his favor."

T. F. DE V.

INDIAN BILLS OF FARE.—Few lovers of cornbread and of hominy are aware that the names "Pone" and "Hominy" are Indian names. Of course most readers know that corn is Indian maize, but most eaters imagine that our methods of preparing corn for food are modern. Webster gives "*Paune*" as an Indian name synonymous with "Pone." But he defines the latter as "a kind of bread made in the Southern States, of corn meal with eggs and milk," and as an Americanism. So "Hominy" he gives as an Americanism, derived from "*auhumi-ne*, parched corn, an Indian word." Father White, in his *Relatio Itineris in Marylandiam*, speaking of the Susquehannocs of Maryland, says: "*Victitant plerumque pulte quem Pone et Omini appellant.*" "They live mostly by a pulse or paste, which they call Pone and Omini," which, he adds, are both made from "*tritico (indico)*," Indian wheat, or corn. This was in 1633.

Again, that exquisite substitute for egg-plant, far more delicate in flavor, and far less gross in substance, which the writer always thought the invention of mother necessity in bellum days—fried squash or cymling, is as old a dish as

Omini. In the Relations des Jesuites, 1688—ed. 1869—the feast which the Cayugas set before the missionaries at Kente was “Citronilles (squashes) fricasseed with grease.” What next?

H. E. H.

NEW READINGS BY OUR TYPO.—The decline of tragedy from the good old days when Macbeth was *murdered* once a week at least at the Bowery Theatre, seems to rattle in the mind of our compositor. In our last number (I. 631) he wickedly transposed the word “murdered,” which Webster so fitly applied to the “Coalition,” and assigned it to the Scottish thane.

EDITOR.

QUERIES

FLAMENS.—(I. 563.) In Champlain's narrative of his expedition against the Iroquois in 1615 mention is made of the “Flamens as going on trading expeditions to the fortieth degree.” Champlain sometimes spells the word Flamans, whence we infer these people were Flamands or Flemish. These were no doubt the Dutch. Hudson sailed up the North River in 1609, and several expeditions to trade with the Indians were sent out from Holland before the year 1614, when Manhattan Island was first settled. What Champlain meant by his phrase, “*d'où les Flamens vont traicter sur le quarantième degré*” (whence the Flamens go to trade on the fortieth degree) is not apparent, unless it be to the Illinois and Wabash country, which is on that parallel. The country from which the Flamans started on their trading expedition Champlain describes as seven days

journey from Cahiagué. Now Cahiagué, or St. Jean Baptiste, as called by the Jesuits, is a town in the Huron country, several degrees to the northward of the 40th parallel. Champlain informs us that the Flamans assisted the Iroquois in their wars. That the Flamans were European is certain, from the fact that those who were captured by the enemies of the Iroquois were released because they were supposed to be of the French settlement. Is there any collateral evidence that the Dutch pushed their trading expeditions as far as the Illinois as early as 1615, or is there an error in the latitude?

J. A. H.

MATHER'S SNOW STORM. — Cotton Mather, in his Christian Philosopher, published in 1721, says in his Essay on Snow, “We read of Heaven giving Snow like Wool. I have known it to give a Snow of Wool. In a Town of New England, called Fairfield, in a bitter snowy Night, there fell a Quantity of Snow, which covered a large frozen Pond, but of such a woollen Consistence, that it can be called nothing but Wool. I have a Quantity of it, that has been these many Years lying by me.” This story is not found in the American reprint. Mather was credulous, but was he imposed upon in this case? N. MAN.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY THE WILSON. —Rev. Morgan Jones' statement in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1740, pp. 103-105. Can any of your readers inform me who was the author of it? It is certainly one of the most successful hoaxes ever perpetrated: for nearly a century and a half it has passed almost unchal-

lenged, and has been quoted by numerous authors in support of the claim that the Welsh discovered America in 1170. Very lately it has been quoted by Mr. Baldwin in his *Ancient America*, and *Pre-historic Nations*; by Bancroft in his *Native Races of the Pacific States*; and lastly it is the foundation stone of that book of blunders known as *America Discovered by the Welsh in 1170, A. D.*, by the Rev. Benj. F. Bowen. The statement purports to be furnished to the *Gentleman's Magazine* by Theophilus Evans, Vicar of St. David's in Brecon. I would like to know if Evans was one of the hoaxed, or if he was only a myth, and who was the author of Morgan Jones' pretended statement. I. C.

DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IN PITTSBURGH.—Amory, in his *Life of James Sullivan*, states that one of these Societies was organized at Pittsburgh after Genet arrived as Minister. I have no doubt of the correctness of this statement, but in as much as the late H. M. Brackenridge has denied that there ever was such a society in Pittsburgh, I would be glad to know what authority Mr. Amory has for his statement. Can any of your readers give the desired information? I. C.

PRONUNCIATION OF THE WORD IROQUIS.—In a notice of the criticisms made on a little book published by Randolph & Co. on *Hiawatha*, we find a smile at "such harmonious conclusions as those of the *Herald* and the *Philadelphia Press*, the learning of the former being horrified by the provincialism of Iroquois rhyming with law, and the latter declaring that this provincialism is correct, though

shocked because Iroquois is also given as a rhyme to shore."

Which if either is right? DELTA.

FILIBUSTERS.—The following paragraph is taken from the *Monthly Mercury* for November 1697. "The pretensions of the Filibusters who were assisting at the taking of Cartagena are brought down to Twelve Hundred Thousand Livres." Is there any earlier mention of this term in America? H. S.

REPLIES

DEATH OF DIEGO VELAZQUEZ.—(I. 622.) In the "*Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, Tomo IV. Madrid, 1844, page 232, there is one, from the Archives of the Indies, a Report, made by a certain Licentiate Baños, on the claim put forward in 1562 by an heir of the Governor to one-twentieth part of all the royal revenues from New Spain, dating from the death of his uncle, as due to him by said uncle's will, made in Cuba in 1524, together with other demands. This document is entitled: "Memorial or petition of Don Antonio Velazquez de Bazan, touching the favor sought from his Majesty as the nearest relation and heir of the Adelantado, Diego Velazquez, whose services are set forth from the year 1508 until that of 1524," &c., &c.

The Report of Baños, with all the Velazquez papers before him, admits that the will was made in 1524, and the claim, as the title of the Report states, is for revenues from 1524. The exact date of the death of the Governor is not given, but that it happened in 1524 there

can be no reasonable doubt. We are surprised that the learned De Noda, author of the article under the above heading, should not have seen this document, published over thirty years since. The paper occupies five pages in print, and contains details concerning the family of Velazquez, but nothing of historical importance.

Señor Don F. S. De Noda does not quote the *Elegias de Varones Ilustres de Indias*, by Juan de Castellanos, published in 1589, in verse, the seventh *Elegia* being devoted to an *Elogio de Diego Velazquez de Cuéllar, adelantado*, etc. The date of his death is not given, and on that account the curious poem was perhaps not quoted.

The inscription on the Governor's tomb is copied also in Warden's American or 4th part of the *Art de Vérifier les dates*, Tom. VIII, 1837, under Cuba, page 240, note, from Don G. Quintero's *Memorias de Historia, segunda parte*, . . . *Noticias eclesiásticas*, etc. He says that the marble slab on which it is engraved is broken off at the top and bottom, and that it was found on the 26th of November, 1810, while excavations were being made in the Metropolitan church of Cuba. The first portion is lost, and as a few errors and omissions appear in the printed copy, we give Warden's as divided into lines.

..... | ETIAM SUMPTIBUS
HANC | INSULAM DEBEL-
LAVIT, AC PACIFICAVIT, | HIC JA-
CET NOBILISSIMUS, AC MAGNIFI-
CENTISSIMUS | DOMINUS DIDAC-
CUS VELASQUEZ, INSULARUM
YUCATANI PRÆSES, | QUI EAS
SUMMA OPERE DEBELLAVIT IN

HONOREM ET | GLORIAM DEI
OMNIPOTENTIS, AC [?] |
SUI REGIS: MIGRAVIT, ANNO
DOMINI M.D.XXII.

Though Quintero's copy ends with the above date, it is probable that two units are missing. It will be noticed also that MIGRAVIT is given as appearing distinctly when this copy was made.
J. C. B.

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THE AUTHOR OF CANDIDUS—(I. 633.)
Rev. Charles Inglis, assistant Rector of Trinity Church, New York City, author of several clever essays against the proceedings of the Continental Congress, alarmed at the influence of "that artful and pernicious pamphlet" entitled "Common Sense," wrote an answer to it in February, 1776. The manuscript, with the statement that "it was composed by a gentleman at some considerable distance," was placed in the hands of Samuel Loudon, the well known printer, who after a careful examination decided to take the risk of its publication. It was set up and partly printed off when Loudon's advertisement in Gaine's New York Gazette drew the attention of the Sons of Liberty. They sent for the printer on the 18th of March and demanded the name of the author; being unable to furnish it, he was informed that they were determined to prevent the publication of any reply to "Common Sense"; six of their number visited his house, where they seized and boxed up the sheets. The same night about forty persons, led by Gerardus Duyckinck, entered the printing office and carried off the boxes to the Common, where they were burned.

Mr. Inglis forwarded a copy of his pamphlet to Philadelphia, where it met with better success, and was issued in April with the title of "Plain Truth; Addressed to the Inhabitants of America, Containing, Remarks on a late Pamphlet entitled Common Sense * * * Written by Candidus." W. K.

FOREIGN GRAPES IN AMERICA. — (I. 633.) Slips from English and French vines were planted in Virginia as early as 1610-19. RICHMOND.

FIDELITY OF THE ONEIDA INDIANS TO THE AMERICANS.—The note entitled "Indian Tribes hostile to the Americans during the Revolutionary War" (I. 253) does marked injustice to the Oneidas while it is not wholly correct as to the Tuscaroras. The Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas and Jeneckaws (Senecas) threw their whole force against the Americans, and 800 warriors for the latter would be much nearer the mark. The Oneidas, as a nation, were true to the Americans from the beginning to the end of the war, and this was well understood by the Continental Congress and all officers who served in the Northern Department, although a few individuals, governed by their cupidity or their fears, joined the British. To the influence of the late Judge James Dean, who acted as Indian Agent with the rank of Major, and of the missionary Kirkland, is mainly to be ascribed the loyalty and fidelity of the Oneidas to our cause. October 25, 1776, Gen. Herkimer wrote Gen. Schuyler as to a gathering at Oswego of 600 British regulars and 22 nations of Indians, but the Oneidas were not there. A belt

was sent by these Indians to the Oneidas, saying unless they joined them they, the Oneidas, would be attacked first, "and not a child's life would then be spared."

In a letter from Robert Gates to Gen. Schuyler, dated Oct. 31, 1776, he says, "A number of tories, among them Peter Tenbrook and Hanyost Schuyler, who had recently fled towards Oswego, were followed by the Oneidas, for which they were threatened by the Onondagas."

This is the character the Oneidas sustained all through the war. As spies and scouts they were often in Canada, even in the councils of the Confederate tribes under Brant, and often returned with the most valuable information. It was thus the fact of St. Leger's expedition to Fort Stanwix via Oswego became known to Gen. Schuyler through Mr. Dean, the Indian Agent. The Tuscaroras as the "guests" and near neighbors of the Oneidas were very much under the same influences as the latter. The assumed neutrality of the Tuscaroras was at times a pretext, but it is understood that but a very few joined the British. M. M. J.

Utica, N. Y.

WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS. — (I. 572.) In reference to the remarks of Professor Butler on Wisconsin newspapers in the Magazine for September, those newspapers do not come within the period that is properly covered by Thomas' History of Printing. All that is said of them there is in a note from a high authority on such matters, and is simply this: "The Green Bay *Republican* was printed by W. Shoals in 1831 or 1832." Prof. Butler says the date should have been

1841 instead of 1831, and the name of the publisher (printer) should have been Henry O. instead of W. Shoals.

The important error of the writer of the note may have been a slip of his pen or that of his informant. There seem to have been several persons by the name of Shoals, or Sholes, connected with early printing in Wisconsin. Mr. A. G. Ellis, "the originator of the press in Wisconsin," in a letter to the Wisconsin Editorial Association in 1859, speaks of the Green Bay *Intelligencer* as having been sold in 1837 to C. C. Sholes, who became associated with his brother, C. L. Sholes, soon after which the publication of the *Intelligencer* at Green Bay came to an end. Though not started till 1833, the Prospectus of that paper was issued, Mr. Ellis says, in 1831.

Prof. Butler should correct the errors of the historians of his own State. In Tuttle's History of Wisconsin, Madison, 1875, p. 198, the Green Bay *Intelligencer* is said to have been established in August, 1836.

S. F. H.

Worcester, Mass.

FLOGGING IN THE U. S. NAVY.—(I. 543.) In your issue for September, in a biographical sketch, the following passage occurs.

"First filling the position of Secretary of the Navy ('*Jack remembering him to this day as the man who abolished flogging in the navy*')." How can this be true? I enlisted in the navy about the time Judge Upshur became Secretary, and served for three years and eight months. During the whole of that time flogging was a daily occurrence. I state this from personal knowledge. By common

report I knew of its continuance for some years afterward. C. A. F.

THE JERSEY BLUES.—(I. 260.) Captain Knox in his Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America, 1757-1760," thus describes the arrival of this corps at Amherst's camp at Oswego, 9 August, 1760:—"The Jersey Blues commanded by that brave, expert officer, Colonel Scuyler, joined the army yesterday and to-day; this is a disciplined regular corps; their uniform is blue faced with scarlet; a good body of men, and made a respectable appearance."

S.

OCTOBER PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Regular Monthly Meetings were resumed in the Hall of the Society, on the evening of Tuesday, October 2, 1877, the President, Frederic de Peyster, LL. D. in the chair.

Among the large audience present, were the Hon. Morrison R. Waite, Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the Hon. Isaac N. Arnold, President of the Chicago Historical Society.

The Librarian reported a large list of additions to the library, and read some accompanying letters, among which was one from the Rev. Dr. Carter, presenting, on behalf of the Vestry of the Church of the Holy Saviour, a fine marble bust of the late Francis L. Hawkes, D.D., executed by David Richards; another from Horace J. Fairchild, Esq., of Manchester, England, with a

gift of a curious, framed certificate of membership in the New York Marine Society, issued to William Tryon, the last colonial Governor of New York, in 1774.

Among the deaths of members during the summer vacation, announced by the Recording Secretary, was that of the Hon. James William Beekman, Second Vice-President of the Society; a memorial minute of whom, prepared by request of the Executive Committee, by Mr. Evert A. Duyckinck, was read (in the absence of that gentleman, through illness) by Dr. Moore. This interesting sketch by a classmate and life-long friend of Mr. Beekman, appears at length in this number.

At the stated June meeting a memorial notice of Mr. John Lothrop Motley, prepared by the Hon. John Jay, and read to the Society, was referred to the Executive Committee, from whom a report was read, recommending that the thanks of the society be presented to Mr. Jay, and his paper be placed in the archives and a substitute submitted for the record. The substitute was read and the recommendation of the Committee adopted.

The paper of the evening was then read by Col. John Ward; the subject, "The Continental Congress before the Declaration of Independence." The basis of the essay our readers are familiar with in the Diary of Governor Samuel Ward, of Rhode Island, recently printed in full, in our pages. The value of this diary of one of the chief actors in these memorable scenes, can only be appreciated by those whose study having been turned to this period, are aware

of the extreme meagreness of the journals of the earlier Congresses. Governor Ward was for a long period Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, and had an active part on the most important committees. He died at his post before the Declaration of Independence came up for discussion. His letters, from which Col. Ward made free use, are vigorous in style and statement, and fervent in their patriotism; alone, they would justify his claim to a high place in that illustrious body of whom Lord Chatham said that "having studied and admired the master States of the world, he could declare that for "solidity and reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of different circumstances, no nation or body of men could stand in preference to the general Congress at Philadelphia."

Rhode Islanders are justly proud of their State. No one of the old thirteen colonies can present a record of more ardent and intelligent patriotism. It has been related of Providence that when the news of the battle of Lexington reached the town every able-bodied man joined the Army of Observation, which marched to Cambridge camp. Rhode Island also was one of the first colonies to second the demand of New York for a Congress, and when the Congress was finally agreed upon Rhode Island was the first to appoint delegates.

Mr. Ward did full justice to his theme, and we wish that his paper with the original letters in full may be soon given to the public.

At the close of the address, the thanks of the Society were voted to Colonel Ward, and the meeting adjourned.

(Publishers of Historical works wishing Notices, will address the Editor with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

COUNT FRONTENAC AND NEW FRANCE
UNDER LOUIS XIV., by FRANCIS PARKMAN.
16mo, pp. 463. LITTLE, BROWN & Co., Boston, 1877.

A second title announced this to be the fifth part of a Series of Historical Narratives, the subject of which is French American history. In his preface the author informs us that the next subject of this series—to the collection of materials for which he has devoted his life since his eighteenth year—to be "Montcalm and the Fall of New France."

There is no American writer living whose works are looked for with more eagerness and read with more pleasure by a certain class of readers, which we are glad to know daily increases in number, than those of Mr. Parkman. To an ease of diction he adds a grace of narrative and a picturesque coloring which please the æsthetic sense and invest the incidents he describes with an interest which never flags. In Count Frontenac he finds a dramatic figure ready to his hand. Following his eventful career from his first military experience in the service of the Prince of Orange to his death in 1698 in his seventy-eighth year, fidelity to history alone was sufficient to insure under treatment of less competent and less experienced hands a volume of value. From those of Mr. Parkman it has come a chiselled and finished work, perfect in its proportions and the relations of its details, enlivened with occasional passages of brilliant imagery which, though in more chastened style, recall his earlier works. Mr. Parkman is rather a chronicler than a historian; not that there is any want of deduction, but that he excels in the descriptive art. He narrates with the grace and verve and abundant imagery of a Froissart, and finds in the wilderness, with its impenetrable depths, crossed here and there by the wild Indians in their trails, the scene he likes the best. Now we see the stealthy savage lurking in the thicket, or following the trail with long loping step, and again, through the vistas of the tall trees, some priestly procession with cross and banner and gown, or perchance a hot contest between the rival whites and their savage allies. We almost see the strange accoutrements, catch the flash of the falling tomahawk and hear the shrill war whoop of attack or victory. In this field and in the portrayal of the marked characters who shaped the destinies of New France on the one side, or of the rival leaders who met their courage and their tenacity with a courage and tenacity no less than their own, Mr. Parkman has no equal.

But here, as in his former works, we find one opinion constantly repeated which we cannot share. No amount of French emigration, not

even Huguenot, could have secured the domination of the French race in America. No emigration could in the last century have maintained itself in power in America without constant communication with Europe. America might perchance have been conquered in an European war, in which the maritime power of Great Britain should have been destroyed, but so long as England held the sea her colonies, established on the middle coast, were secure from other than temporary inconvenience and invasion. Nor would a Huguenot emigration, even of the extent which Mr. Parkman supposes to have been possible, but for the severe policy of Louis XIV., have been as favorable to French interests as that led by the Priests. The Huguenots would not probably have been more just or kind to the savages than their co-religionists, the Puritans. To this day the Indians prefer the impressive paraphernalia of the Romish Church, and the self-sacrificing devotion of its emissaries, to the cold doctrine of the Protestant missionary and his isolation from their habits and life. The one becomes the adopted child of the tribe, the other never loses his foreign character.

Not the least charming of the delightful chapters which make up this volume are those which, touching on the personal history of the gay and hardy Count, open to us some unknown views of the French Court.

BATTLES BY THE REPUBLIC BY SEA
AND LAND, FROM LEXINGTON TO THE CITY
OF MEXICO. By HENRY W. HARRISON. Il-
lustrated with one hundred and fifty engrav-
ings. 16mo, pp. 448. Philadelphia (1877).

A new edition of a work published in Philadelphia in 1858, which accounts for there being no mention of the civil war. The field treated is so large however that it admits of little more than a simple narrative of events. The author declared his purpose to be to present a "*coup d'œil* of American military history by means of lively sketches of the most important battles." Necessary condensation has eliminated much of the anecdote which would have increased the interest of the book; it is, however, still attractive enough to please the young reader. The less said about the illustrations the better.

OVERLAND TALES BY JOSEPHINE
CLIFFORD. 12mo, pp. 383. CLAXTON, REM-
SON & HAFELGINGER, Philadelphia, 1877.

A collection of stories and sketches of journeyings through California, Arizona and New

Mexico, many of which first appeared in the *Overland Monthly*. The crisp, sententious style and sharp character drawing of Bret Harte renders any infringement upon his special line a dangerous experiment, but it will not be denied that the authoress of these has done her work in a creditable and pleasing manner. Her descriptions of nature are true, and her characters lifelike. Now and then familiar personages and recitals seem to claim recognition, but after all in strong types there are always certain points of resemblance. Poker-Jim does not much differ from his fellows, and scenes which wind up with the crack of a revolver closely resemble each other. This kind of literature has a Jack Shepherd and Dick Turpin fascination to many readers, and can hardly be called wholesome, but it presents the truest pictures of frontier and miners' life.

A NARRATIVE OF THE GREAT REVIVAL WHICH PREVAILED IN THE SOUTHERN ARMIES DURING THE LATE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN THE STATES OF THE FEDERAL UNION. By WILLIAM W. BENNETT, D. D. 12mo, pp. 427. CLAXTON, REMSEN & HAFELFINGER, Philadelphia, 1877.

The reverend author while expressing no opinion with regard to the Northern soldiers, claims for the South that it was essentially a religious people, and that this feature in their character strongly asserted itself during the civil war. He was Superintendent of one of the Tract Associations during several years of the war, and near its close an army chaplain, and hence had ample opportunities for obtaining authentic information. The Southern troops he claims were strictly native American, who, while they exhibited to a mournful extent the peculiar vices of their race, also manifested its respect and reverence for all the ordinances and institutions of religion. Whiskey was the giant hindrance which stood in the path, and next a wide-spread and cruel spirit of extortion; we use the author's words.

The Southern armies had noble examples in Lee and Jackson, both of whom were eminently religious men; the latter almost a Covenanter in his extreme fervor. Wherever large bodies of men are gathered together in time of excitement and danger the religious sentiment is aroused. It is sad to reflect, however, that its development rarely checks continued indulgence in the worst vices. The volume relates many touching incidents, and will no doubt be a household book in the Southern States.

THE LIFE OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, by ARTHUR GEORGE KNIGHT, of the Society of Jesus. 16mo, pp. 230. The Catholic Publication Society, New York. 1877.

If we accept the opinion of this author the discovery of America was in a great measure owing to the prayers of Father Perez, the confessor of Queen Isabella, not to herself but to God that he might incline her heart to grant the request of the oft-rebuffed petitioner for the wherewithal to discover a world. It was while the holy Father was praying in the Queen's chapel, close by, that Isabella's eyes were opened and her resolution formed. The one controlling motive in the mind of Columbus is considered to have been his desire to spread the Christian faith beyond the unknown sea. There are many, not of Mr. Knight's way of thinking, who will agree with him that the heart of the navigator was sustained by the upholding hand of a higher power, but who will find it hard to accept the story of the "miraculous cross" set up by the Admiral, which not only worked miracles but although of wood, defied fire and filled up instantaneously by supernatural growth the cavities made by the stone hatchets and knives of the natives.

The advantages of the discovery of America to the old world are undeniable, but that it was of any special benefit to the new is certainly doubtful. Within ten years of the first landing of Columbus more than three-quarters of the native population of the islands had perished, and the remainder soon disappeared. Cortez repeated the same iniquities in Mexico. Our North American Indians are rapidly disappearing; Christianity has not been to them a blessing, and the spirit of its founder had little to do with the actions of the discoverers, however it may have influenced their motives.

The character of Columbus is defended with earnest zeal in this little volume, which well deserves perusal.

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF BELFAST, IN THE STATE OF MAINE, FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT IN 1770 TO 1875, by JOSEPH WILLIAMSON. 8vo, pp. 956. LORING, SHORT & HARMON. Portland. 1877.

This is an exhaustive work covering the history of the town at every period, each of which is treated in branches, which the author names proprietary, municipal, ecclesiastical, educational, biographical and statistical. The town of Belfast was originally settled by families of Scotch descent, who in 1719 emigrated from Ulster county, Ireland (hence called Scotch-Irish), where they were embarrassed by forced contributions to the Established Church, from which they dissented. The head of one of these, John Mitchell, was the founder of Belfast. The thrifty and enterprising character of the first settlement has been preserved. The author tells us that this community, not exceeding six thousand inhabitants, sent over eight hundred of its sons to the support of the Union cause in the late

civil war, that it has alone built a railroad costing a million dollars, and that it has twice been destroyed by fire and rebuilt.

It has been said that the potato is the greatest boon the new continent has given to the old. We learn here that these Scotch pioneers first introduced it into New England.

There are copious general and name indices. Nothing of interest about Belfast seems to have been omitted. There is a great variety of illustrations, many excellent, others by some of the wretched unartistic processes which mar so many of our best books.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF PLYMOUTH, LUZERNE COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, by HENDRICK B. WRIGHT, of Wilkesbarre, Pa., with twenty-five photographs of the early settlers and present residents of the town of Plymouth; old landmarks; family residences, and places of especial note. Small 8vo, pp. 419. J. B. PETERSON & BROTHERS, Philadelphia.

This volume appears to be a reprint of one published in 1873. The author, whose military looking portrait prefaces the volume and who tells us in its first chapter that he "first saw the light of day in Plymouth, April 24th, 1808, has been recently elected to represent his District in Congress." His beginnings in literature are more promising than in legislation, if it be true, as we see announced, that he has just declared his intention of moving that ten millions be appropriated from the United States Treasury to be divided among workingmen. Plymouth was settled in 1768 by the grantees of the Susquehanna Company, two hundred of whom, mostly from New England, took up five townships, of which this was one. Its origin is too recent to be obscure. When the white man first visited these Wyoming lands they were occupied by the Shawnee Indians. The history of the town is traced from this period in a manner easy, entertaining and instructive. The land squabbles of the Proprietary Government of Pennsylvania and the Connecticut grantees divided the population into two parties, and resulted in what is termed the "Pennamite Yankee War," which continued till 1799, when the Legislature of Pennsylvania intervened. The Yankees were far from their protectors in Connecticut, but they held sternly to their own.

The Wyoming massacre is graphically recited. Mr. Wright fixes the responsibility for the brutal carnage where it belongs, on Butler, the British officer, and clears the fair fame of Brandt, who was taking scalps elsewhere. The biographical sketches have local interest; the photographic portraits are executed in a style more than usually good.

ESSAYS AND REVIEWS, BY RT. REV. J. L. SPAULDING, D. D., Bishop of Peoria. Small 8vo, pp. 355. The Catholic Publication Society. 1877.

The papers in this volume have nearly all appeared in the *Catholic World*. They are of a religious character and treat of the condition of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States and Germany. In the first chapter on the Catholic Church in the United States, the author observes the "noteworthy fact that every attempt to establish religion in this country was a failure." As the statement is in no way qualified we suppose the author to mean to establish a church. There is some difference, however, between a religion and a church. The failure to establish a church alone permitted the spread of Romanism in this country. Before the revolution, in nearly every State, Roman Catholics were under both civil and ecclesiastical disabilities. Mr. Spaulding considers us a common-place and mediocre people and as inferior to the nations of Europe. It is quite the fashion in this country to decry ourselves but such a statement as this hardly needs refutation. Through every walk of literature and of science our best men have shown ourselves the equals of the best men of Europe, and our average education as a people is immeasurably above that of either England or Germany, and this notwithstanding the enormous disadvantages to which a crude and ignorant immigration has subjected us. Bishop Spaulding has no love for Germany. He considers her as pagan and intolerant. But German policy is secular; she has not forgotten the thirty years' war, nor the murder of William of Orange, nor the inhumanity of Alba, nor yet that when the march to Berlin began assassination was preached by the priests in the towns and villages of Alsace, and the war declared to be a holy war.

We cannot spare space to review this vigorous and spirited assertion of the ultra Catholic view. We are glad to believe that it does not prevail generally in this country, and that the Catholic is not necessarily either a bigot or illiberal, but that on the contrary his faith and opinions are tempered by the influences of the free society in which he lives.

THE REV. SAMUEL PETERS, LL.D., GENERAL HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT, FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT UNDER GEORGE FENWICK TO ITS LATEST PERIOD OF AMITY WITH GREAT BRITAIN PRIOR TO THE REVOLUTION; including Description of the Country and many Curious and Interesting Anecdotes, with an Appendix, &c. By a Gentleman of the Province. London, 1731. To which are added additions to the Appendix, Notes and Extracts

from Letters, verifying many important Statements made by the author, by SAMUEL JARVIS McCORMICK. 12mo, pp. 285. D. APPLETON & Co., New York, 1877.

This volume, which has attracted much attention, is a reprint of the celebrated work of the Rev. Dr. Peters, purporting to be a history of Connecticut, which in its original form is extremely rare. With all its peculiarities, and indeed notwithstanding them, it has always been a most readable volume. Its present reappearance seems by the preface of Mr. McCormick to be due to the recent publication by our witty friend, Mr. James Hammond Trumbull, of a volume entitled "The Blue Laws of Connecticut and New Haven and the False Blue Laws invented by the Rev. Samuel Peters," a notice of which we gave in the February number of the Magazine. A recent lively skirmish has been going on in the columns of the Connecticut press, with an occasional stray shot fired in the New York papers, between these two gentlemen, one of whom stands by the honor of his State, while the other vindicates the veracity of the defunct old clergyman. We intend to watch the progress of the fight, without venturing within range of the missiles. As an editor we compliment Mr. McCormick for the make up of the volume and the carefully prepared index, while we regret that he has not seen fit to separate his remarks from the appendix of the Reverend Doctor.

ACCOUNT OF ARNOLD'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST QUEBEC, AND OF THE HARDSHIPS AND SUFFERINGS OF THAT BAND OF HEROES WHO TRAVERSED THE WILDERNESS OF MAINE FROM CAMBRIDGE TO THE ST. LAWRENCE IN THE AUTUMN OF 1775. By JOHN JOSEPH HENRY, one of the survivors. 12mo, pp. 198. JOEL MUNSELL, Albany, 1877.

Mr. Munsell has done another service to historical students, particularly great at this time, when the Canada campaigns are the subject of much investigation, by reproducing the graphic narrative of Judge Henry of the terrible march of Arnold's command through the valleys of the Kennebec and the Chaudière to the attack on Quebec, and the sufferings of the troops. It is prefaced by a memoir of the narrator by a grandson, and a sketch of his life by his daughter. A good index increases its value.

THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY: ITS PLACE IN HISTORY. An Address at the Centennial Celebration, August 6, 1877. By ELLIS H. ROBERTS. 8vo, pp. 66. Utica, 1877.

The oration delivered by the eloquent and accomplished member of Congress from Oneida County on this most interesting occasion. The incidents of the battle summer of 1777, including the adoption of the State Constitution at Kingston, the contest in the Mohawk Valley, the battle near Bennington, the surrender of Burgoyne and the defence of the Highlands form a series of events of great importance in our history. Never has there been such a revival of patriotic interest in the details of the revolutionary struggle as in New York this summer and fall. It is said that over twenty thousand persons passed over the Central railroad on the occasion of this brilliant celebration. Mr. Roberts has added some valuable documents in an appendix to his pamphlet.

ADDRESS BY THE HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, DELIVERED AT KINGSTON, JULY 30, 1877, AT THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE FORMATION OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK. 8vo, pp. 23. WEED, PARSONS & Co., Albany, 1877.

Our readers will find here a careful and critical account of the Constitution adopted in the turmoil of war by the State of New York. Mr. Depew was followed by General George H. Sharpe in an interesting local description of the old town of Esopus, which we hope may soon appear in a permanent form.

THE BURGOWNE CAMPAIGN. AN ADDRESS DELIVERED ON THE BATTLEFIELD ON THE ONE HUNDREDTH CELEBRATION OF THE BATTLE OF BEMIS HEIGHTS, SEPTEMBER 19, 1877. By JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS. 8vo, pp. 43. A. D. F. RANDOLPH & Co., New York, 1877.

The citizens of Saratoga County assembled at Bemis Heights on the 19th September, to commemorate the battles which took place at and near Freeman's Farm on the 19th of September and 7th October, 1777. The gathering was very large. Addresses were delivered by Hon. Martin I. Townsend of Troy and Lieutenant-Governor Dorsheimer. The present pamphlet is the historic record presented on the occasion. In it will be found a sketch of the operations in Canada which preceded the invasion of New York, and a detailed account of the movements of Burgoyne, closing with his surrender, October 17th. It is the intention of the County Committee to print the entire proceedings.

THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON, WITH PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF MEN ENGAGED

IN IT. By Rev. A. B. MUZZEY, of Cambridge. (Reprinted from the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for October, 1877.) 8vo, pp. 19. DAVID CLAPP & SON, Boston, 1877.

A contribution by a native of Lexington of many interesting traditions, some of which have never before been printed, of this famous skirmish. Such material as this will prove invaluable to future historians.

MEMORIAL SERVICES OF COMMEMORATION DAY HELD IN CANTON, MAY 30, 1877. UNDER THE AUSPICES OF REVERE ENCAMPMENT. POST NO. 94, GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC. 8vo, pp. 31. WILLIAM BENSE, Boston, 1877.

The chief feature of this occasion, better known in New York as "Decoration Day," was the address of Daniel T. V. Huntoon. Its historic value is in a thorough sketch of the Gridley family and of Major-General Richard Gridley, to whom a monument was then dedicated. Gridley was appointed to the command of the First Regiment of Artillery raised in Massachusetts. Mr. Huntoon has gathered many valuable facts connected with the early beginnings of this arm of the service, of which no history has yet been written.

SKETCHES OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CITY OF RALEIGH. Centennial Address, Fourth of July, 1876, by Hon. KEMP P. BATTLE, delivered at the request of the Board of Aldermen. 8vo, pp. 71. Raleigh, 1877.

This is another of the historical sketches elicited by the Proclamation of the United States, urging a due celebration of the Centennial of the nation. The observance of the day was quite as general we understand at the South as at the North, but we have seen but few printed accounts of the proceedings. The present pamphlet contains a condensed history of Wake County, North Carolina, and of the migration of the Capital until its final settlement at Raleigh in 1784.

HISTORY OF MADISON COUNTY, STATE OF NEW YORK. By Mrs. L. M. HAMMOND, 8vo, pp. 774. TRUAIR, SMITH & CO., Syracuse, 1872.

In this volume the capable authoress has brought together a large mass of facts relating to the discovery and settlement of this county. In the first chapter there is an account of the

aborigines. The succeeding fifteen are devoted to the history of the several towns in their order. The work abounds in personal details of the early settlers, unfortunately unavailable to the general reader for the want of an index, which we hope another edition may supply.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, INCLUDING SOME IMPORTANT FACTS MOSTLY OMITTED IN THE SMALLER HISTORIES DESIGNED FOR GENERAL READING AND FOR ACADEMIES. By JOSIAH W. LEEDS. 8vo, pp. 468. J. B. LIPPINCOTT, Philadelphia, 1877.

The author in a prefatory note announces the distinction between his treatment of historic subjects and that generally adopted. He complains that the histories of wars are made the subject of school tuition to the neglect of those of peace, and he proposes to supply in a measure a knowledge of the "moral loss occasioned by a state of warfare, together with its exceeding expensiveness." The thirty-two chapters of this peculiar volume cover the entire period from the discovery to the administrations of Johnson and Grant. The cruelty of the Spaniards, the duplicity of the French, the barbarities of New England in the Indian wars, the wickedness of the Mexican war that Mr. Gallatin once termed "the only blot on the national escutcheon," and the war of secession are all treated and condemned in turn, and the moral and material losses each occasioned in their day and generation estimated. In the account of the peaceful settlement of the *Alabama* question by arbitration, we find the only cheerful, hopeful passage in the work. The novelty of the authors's mode of treatment must not be supposed to detract from the merit of this work, which we cordially commend, though we still hold to the old theory that war is often a necessary solvent, and that nations which are incapable of its sacrifices are undeserving of the blessings of peace.

THE HISTORY AND LEGAL EFFECT OF BREVETS IN THE ARMIES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES FROM THEIR ORIGIN IN 1692 TO THE PRESENT TIME, by JAMES B. FRY, Col. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen. 8vo, pp. 576. D. VAN NOSTRAND, New York. 1877.

An admirable volume, which we presume will be found indispensable to every military student as it certainly is an important assistant to the non-professional in historical investigation. We call especial attention to the curious "Memorial for the consideration of the Congress of the United States," which is known as the "Corpus Christi Memorial," from its having been signed

there in 1845 by a large number of army officers. It is remarkable for its vigor of expression and the logic of its conclusions.

The volume contains a Register of Brevets from 1776 to 1812 and from 1812 to the present time.

ADDRESS OF GOV. JAMES L. KEMPER, ON THE FIRST AWARD OF THE JACKSON-HOPE MEDALS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE. Small 4to, pp. 26. [No imprint.] D. VAN NOSTRAND, New York. 1877.

The surplus of the money raised in England to erect a statue to General Jackson of the Confederate army was directed by Mr. Beresford Hope, M. P., to be invested in a fund for a further memorial; hence the combination of the names Jackson and Hope. The famous Stonewall has a secure place in the heart of Virginia.

VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE, LEXINGTON, VA. Official register, 1876-1877. Small 4to, pp. 43. [No imprint.] D. VAN NOSTRAND, New York.

THE INNER LIFE OF THE V. M. I. CADET, ITS RESPONSIBILITIES AND ITS PRIVILEGES. Introductory Address to the Corps of Cadets at the Virginia Military Institute on the resumption of the Academic Exercises Sept. 10, 1866, by FRANCIS H. SMITH, LL. D., Superintendent. Small 4to, pp. 52. Lexington, Va. 1873. [No imprint.] D. VAN NOSTRAND.

This institution, from a professional chair in which Jackson marched out with a Corps of Cadets in 1861, and which lost one hundred and seventy-five of its alumni during the war of secession, went to pieces in the contest, but was again revived at its close. We are glad to note the tone of a person so authoritative as its chief officer in regard to the future conduct of the Southern people. They have returned from the appeal to arms, he said, with full purpose to maintain in firm faith their restored relations to the Constitution of the United States.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY. Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 119-232. Publication Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1877.

An admirable number and of general interest. We are especially interested in a reprint of a

diary of the Moravian Congregation concerning the Occupation of New York City by the British in 1776. Reading the life-like details, we seem almost in the presence of the events recorded. There is a Journal of William Black, Secretary of the Virginia Commission to treat with the Iroquois Indians; an Account of the Pre-Pennian epoch of Pennsylvania on occasion of the presentation of a portrait of Queen Christina to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Besides other papers of historical interest, there are five biographical sketches, prepared for the Congress of Authors.

ADDRESSES TO THE GRADUATING CLASS OF THE U. S. MILITARY ACADEMY, WEST POINT, N. Y., JUNE 14, 1877. 4to, pp. 43. D. VAN NOSTRAND, New York.

These addresses by Professor Thompson and Mr. McCrary, Secretary at War, and by Major-Generals Hancock and Schofield will be found pleasant reading even by men not military. That of General Hancock is full of practical advice to young graduates.

THE DISCIPLINE AND DRILL OF THE MILITIA, by Major FRANK S. ARNOLD, Assistant Quartermaster-General, Rhode Island. Small 8vo, pp. 120. D. VAN NOSTRAND, New York.

A seasonable publication now that the interest in the militia has been revived by the signal service recently rendered in behalf of law and order. We can pass no opinion on the technical merits of this little volume. There is a condemnation of the practice of shaking hands, which is sure to meet the approbation of the Commander-in-Chief of all the armies of the United States, who under all administrations is peculiarly subject to this infiction, and more especially if a military man.

HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY, FROM ITS ORIGIN IN 1746 TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF 1854. By JOHN MACLEAN, tenth President of the College. 8vo, 2 vols., pp. 414 and 450. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co., Philadelphia, 1877.

This thorough and complete history of this famous institution of learning, more familiarly known by the endearing title of Old Princeton, will be joyfully welcomed by a large class of our people, and prove particularly valuable to the governors and professors of our educational establishments from the practical observations of the author upon the working of the different plans

of management and instruction followed since its organization, more than a century ago. Its chapters contain an account of the origin of the college, its design, the charters under which it began its usefulness and a memoir of Governor Belcher, its "Fundator Perficiens," as Mr. Maclean classically terms its first great patron and benefactor; histories of the administrations of the celebrated presidents, from Dickinson to Carnahan, with an account of the author's own inauguration. An admirable name index completes the second volume.

New Jersey and New York City are the well-known centres of Presbyterianism, in numbers, power and influence. To the citizens of New York particularly the college owes its capacity for influence in the present day. There is a Professorship of Belles Letters, founded on a donation of \$25,000 by the late Captain Silas Holmes of New York City; a Professorship of Biblical Instruction, founded on gifts to the amount of \$115,000 by the Lenox family, besides contributions to the amount of \$15,000 from Mr. James Lenox for other purposes. In addition to these, other liberal gifts by the same and by Robert L. and Alexander Stuart for scholarships and other funds, and crowning all the munificent gift of \$116,000 by the late lamented John C. Green, also of New York, for building purposes, and a further gift to pay for the last expenditure incurred of over \$10,000. Truly there is no narrowness in New York liberality.

THE CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF THE BATTLE OF BENNINGTON, COMPILED FROM THE MOST RELIABLE SOURCES, AND FITLY ILLUSTRATED WITH ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS AND ENTERTAINING ANECDOTES. Colonel Seth Warner's identity in the first action completely established. By FRANK W. COBURN. 8vo, pp. 72. GEO. E. LITTLEFIELD, Boston, 1877.

This is a careful, impartial and correct account of this brilliant feat of the army which destroyed Burgoyne's hope of living on the country. We are glad to see full justice done to Colonel Warner, whose fortunate arrival on the field with fresh troops at the nick of time, (as Breyman's Yagers were about to fall on Stark's command, scattered in search of what Mr. Coburn calls "desirable property,") saved the day, and turned what might have proved a disgrace into victory.

"UNWRITTEN LAW." AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE PHI BETA KAPPA SOCIETY OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY AT CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, JUNE 28, 1877. By

THOMAS FRANCIS BAYARD, of Delaware. 8vo, pp. 47. A. WILLIAMS & Co., Boston, 1877.

To every one who knew Harvard as it was thirty years ago, when the understood, if not openly announced, policy of the college was to discourage the attendance of Southern and even of New York students at her courses of education, the announcement of an address by Mr. Bayard before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, the highest compliment known in the University, seemed a stride in the progress of opinion. The "higher law," which found its birth in New England sentiment and its expression on the lips of a New York statesman, is a form of unwritten law. Mr. Seward would have found it more difficult to define it than to express it. The words crystallized a sentiment; gave form to a policy, but nothing more. Mr. Bayard finds something of the same difficulty in his effort to define the intangible something he terms the *unwritten law*. It must not be inferred that he refers to the common law, that combination of precedent and usage, which until superseded by statute law, is supposed to be understood by every one until he consults his lawyer, when he finds it a many sided mirror, which reflects the face of each examiner in turn. Mr. Bayard expressly says he does not mean *lex non scripta*, but the "great moral law written, as Coke said, with the finger of God in the heart of man." It would puzzle a Hudibras lawyer to "distinguish and divide" between the meanings intended by the two statesmen. Mankind is in accord upon the fundamental principle of morals, but their methods of application differ widely.

Notwithstanding this vagueness, which is no doubt inherent in the subject, Mr. Bayard's address is philosophical in its reasonings and charming in treatment. It is pervaded with that genial warmth and well-bred amenity for which this accomplished gentleman is so distinguished, and for that broad spirit which he, with many of his class, has shown since his emancipation, through the emancipation of his party, from the trammels which hampered his action in his younger days.

THE CINCINNATI, WITH THE BY-LAWS, RULES, ETC., OF THE NEW JERSEY STATE SOCIETY. 8vo, pp. 78. New York. 1876.

Of the thirteen State Societies of the Cincinnati, which at one time gave such umbrage to our people as an aristocratic and exclusive order, only six, those of Maryland, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Carolina remain, the rest are extinct; of these the archives of all but New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island have been lost.

This pamphlet gives the Constitution and By-laws of the Society and of the State Society of New Jersey, of which Elias Dayton was the first President, and a Roll of original and hereditary members, in which many valuable biographical details are included.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF CHOSEN FREEHOLDERS OF THE COUNTY OF PASSAIC FOR THE YEAR ENDING MAY 9, 1877. Annual Report of the County Collector for the year 1876-7. 8vo, pp. 58, and appendix IX. Paterson, N. J. 1877.

We invite attention to the appendix, in which will be found a census of Paterson, July 4, 1827, made by the Rev. Samuel Fisher, D. D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Paterson at that time, from the original manuscript. Some of our readers may be glad to have this information.

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LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF THE SUBSISTENCE DEPARTMENT OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY FROM JUNE 16, 1775, TO AUGUST 15, 1876. Compiled under the direction of the Commissary-General of Subsistence by JOHN W. BARRIGER, Major and Commissary of Subsistence. Second edition. 8vo, pp. 113 and Index xv. Government Printing Office, Washington. 1877.

This is quite a valuable contribution to army history. It is divided into three chapters, noting severally the various orders issued, with commentaries upon them. I. From June 16, 1775 to March 4, 1789. II. From March 4, 1789 to March 4, 1815. III. From March 4, 1815 to August 15, 1876. The Index carefully supplements the whole.

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HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS, by M. ALMY ALDRICH, from official reports and other documents. Compiled by Captain RICHARD S. COLLUM. D. VAN NOSTRAND, NEW YORK.

This continues to be the best book on the subject. It gives a history of the services of this corps from its organization in November, 1775. Its various services on sea and land in every quarter of the globe and at home in efficient support of the national authority and of public order when their aid was invoked, are related in a manner which makes it a welcome book in circles far wider than that for which it was written. It includes a Register of officers from 1798 to 1875.

"EASTWARD HO!" OR LEAVES FROM THE DIARY OF A CENTENNIAL PILGRIM, being a Truthful Account of a Trip to the Centennial City via Washington, and the Return via Niagara Falls, with a graphic description of the Exhibition itself. By DAVID BAILEY, Teacher. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 89.

The title of this volume gives a fair idea of the contents of this readable volume, in which there is much to interest though little new. It is always pleasing to note how that even which is familiar to ourselves strikes another mind. The style is that of one who, having taken an excursion ticket, intends that it shall cover all that the word implies. It is certain that these rapid *coup d'oeils* have not a value equal to that of careful examination. Let each reader who has visited Europe consider how few of the thousand churches he has seen remain impressed on his memory. Mr. Bailey recites his visit to the Exhibition in the same business like manner that he describes his journey in the cars. Everything did not please him in Philadelphia. Some of the pictures were not to his taste, but considering the atrocious character of the illustrations to his own volume we suspend our judgment. We sympathize more fully in his poor appreciation of Philadelphia heat. Who that experienced the terrors of the three days of July can ever forget it? We left the torrid place with a higher respect than ever for our patriot fathers, who had independence enough to declare anything in such a place and such weather. If this be treason, make the most of it.

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GENERAL HISTORY OF DUCHESS COUNTY, FROM 1609 TO 1876, INCLUSIVE. Illustrated with numerous Wood Cuts, Maps and full-page Engravings. By PHILIP H. SMITH. 8vo, pp. 508. Published by the author. Pawling, New York, 1877.

A great deal has been done in a desultory way by Lossing and others towards the history of this historical county. The many contributions of Mr. Lossing alone to the local press of Poughkeepsie would make an interesting volume, and fill a gap much felt by students of history, and we hope to see them brought together soon.

Mr. Smith has done a good work in collecting material from various sources and bringing it together in an accessible form. The work includes an outline map, which seems to be, as the author claims, unusually complete and numerous. The wood-cuts are all the author's own handiwork. The volume is rich in personal and biographical detail, and bears abundant proof of industry and care.

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MARTIAL LAW DURING THE REVOLUTION

THE interesting article on this subject (Mag. Am. History, vol. i, p. 538), by Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel G. N. Lieber, of the Corps of Judge-Advocates, U. S. A., indicates how little was known about it by Judges of Courts of Record when the great Military Commission case of *ex parte* Milligan came up for consideration in the Supreme Court of the United States.

The proclamation¹ of martial law by the British Lieutenant-General Thomas Gage, Governor of Massachusetts, at Boston, 12th June, 1775, was in reality but an announcement of the fact that war existed, because the affairs of Lexington and Concord had already occurred, Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been taken, and the British were then actually besieged in Boston and engaged in constant skirmishes with organized regiments of American Minute men and Militia. One of the reasons ascribed by General Gage for the exercise of Martial Law was that "during the continuance of the Rebellion in Massachusetts justice could not be administered by the Common Law of the land, the course whereof had for a long time past been violently impeded and wholly interrupted."

In his answer,² 3d May, 1775, to a letter from Governor Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut, General Gage used the following language: "You ask whether it will not be consistent with my duty to suspend the operations of war on my part? I have commenced no operations of war but defensive; such you cannot wish me to suspend while I am surrounded by an armed country, who have already begun, and threaten further to prosecute, an offensive war, and are now violently depriving me, the King's troops and many others of the King's subjects under my immediate protection, of all the conveniences and necessities of life with which the country abounds."

General Gage here disclaimed having taken the offensive, although the Continental Congress by resolution, dated Philadelphia, 9th June,

1775, soon after declared that "General Gage hath actually levied war, and is carrying on hostilities against his Majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects of that Colony." Lord Dartmouth in an official communication³ to General Gage, dated London, 1st July, 1775, said that "from the moment the blow was struck" (Lexington and Concord), "and the town of Boston invested by the Rebels, there was no longer any reason to doubt the intention of the people of Massachusetts Bay to commit themselves in open rebellion. The other three New England Provinces have taken the same part, and in fact all America (Quebec, Nova Scotia and the Floridas excepted) is in arms against Great Britain, and the people involved in the guilt of levying a war against the King in every sense of the expression. In this situation every effort must be made, both by sea and land, to subdue the Rebellion."

Here was an admission of belligerency, which made it necessary that the laws and usages of war should be applied in dealing with the armed forces of the Americans, and in the treatment of captured prisoners. Forgetting this fact, Lieutenant-General Gage confined the American officers who had been captured by his forces in a common jail appropriated for felons, but he soon received a remonstrance from General Washington, dated Army Headquarters, Cambridge, 11th August, 1775. A correspondence ensued, during which the latter, in retaliation and pending adjustment, ordered the British officers held as prisoners of war by the Americans to be confined in Northampton jail.⁴

All doubts as to the fact that the thirteen United Colonies of America were belligerents and at war, in an international sense, with Great Britain were soon set at rest by the proclamation⁵ of George III. of the 23d August, 1775, which acknowledged them to be in open rebellion and levying war, and by the Act of Parliament of 19th December in the same year, by which American vessels captured on the high seas became good prize. In this we see an analogy to President Lincoln's proclamation of blockade of the Southern ports in 1861, which was, *ipso facto*, a recognition of the belligerency of the Confederate Government.

Governor Gage's proclamation of Martial Law in 1775 had been preceded by one of like tenor from Governor Guy Carleton of the Province of Quebec on the 9th June, 1775.⁶ In this the latter announced the prevalence of a rebellion in the English colonies, particularly in some of the neighboring ones, and that an armed force had lately made incursions, carrying away troops, stores and a vessel, and were then actually invading the Province with arms in a hostile manner.

The Earl of Dunmore's later proclamation⁷ of Martial Law in Virginia on the 7th November, 1775, from on board the ship *William*, stated, among other things, that a body of armed men had fired on a British armed ship; that an army had been formed and was then on its march to attack His Majesty's troops, and that therefore, in order to defeat such treasonable purposes and bring such traitors and their abettors to justice, and that the peace and good order of the colony might again be restored, which the ordinary course of the Civil law was unable to effect, he declared his purpose to execute martial law.

The well-contested affair at "Great Bridge," near Norfolk, Va., on the 9th of the following month, between the Americans and British, showed that war had actually broken out in the Old Dominion.⁸ It is an interesting fact that, although Congress in the Declaration of Independence charged the British Government with having waged war against the Americans, nevertheless these several proclamations by the Royal Governors received no notice in that instrument, for the very good reason that as war existed in an international sense the very presence of the hostile forces sanctioned the exercise of martial law, without even the necessity of prior proclamation.

Much confusion has existed in the minds of writers and jurists as to what is "Martial Law." In the popular view the expression has usually, though wrongfully, conveyed the idea of the exercise of all kinds of oppression and violence by an irresponsible military force. Such conduct would, however, not only be unjust, but an abuse of power necessarily leading to protest and retaliation. There is a notable instance of this in the case of Captain Joshua Huddy of the New Jersey State Artillery, who was captured by the enemy 2d April, 1782, and carried into New York City as a prisoner of war. Subsequently, and for no legitimate cause, he was taken to Middletown Heights, N. J., and there hung by a party of Tories, 12th April, 1782.⁹ This gross violation of the law of nations caused General Washington to protest, and demand of Sir Henry Clinton the condign punishment of all concerned. (Army Headquarters, Newburgh, 21st April, 1782.) The British Commander-in-Chief accordingly caused an investigation to be had, but the result being partial and unsatisfactory, General Washington proceeded to retaliate from among the British captives who were prisoners of war in his hands. The "lot" fell to Captain Charles Asgill of the Guards, who, after close confinement, only escaped execution by the near approach of peace and the strenuous efforts of his mother through the polite mediation of Count de Vergennes, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs. (13 No-

vember, 1782.) Congress had, by resolution of 29th April, 1782, authorized retaliation for conduct "so contrary to the laws of nations and of war," but as we have seen, General Washington, upon notification of Captain Huddy's murder, at once acted without waiting for any such authority.

A still earlier instance of retaliation was where Congress, in order to compel the British in their treatment of Major-General Charles Lee, U. S. A., "to regard the Law of Nations," directed by resolution of 20th February, 1777, that Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell, 71st Foot, and five Hessian field officers, prisoners of war, should be placed in close custody. This treatment was relaxed when Lee was allowed greater liberty.

Technically speaking "Martial Law," or the laws and usages of war, may be defined to be that branch of the law of nations applicable to belligerent operations on land, just as "prize" law constitutes another branch applicable to certain belligerent operations on the sea.

Martial law constitutes a well-defined code or rule of action for the military forces of a Government waging war, and as war is theoretically if not always practically waged by civilized nations to prevent apprehended injury, or to obtain redress for wrong, it sanctions the killing or disabling by certain recognized, legitimate means of the combatant and those associated with him in actual hostility, and the destruction or appropriation of private property interfering with or required for the belligerent operations. Thus, for example, we find General Washington in 1778 (22d April), from Army Headquarters, Valley Forge, directing by General Orders the Forage Master General "to appropriate a sufficient number of wheat fields within the vicinity of the camp to serve as forage grounds."

Martial law also brings under its jurisdiction two classes of offenses for punishment by the military authorities irrespective of the status of the individual, namely—*first*, those solely known and committable in consequence of a state of war, such as being a spy, guerilla marauder, war-rebel or war-traitor, violator of flag of truce, &c., and *second*, those crimes of civil or statutory cognizance which may have been committed within the lines of actual belligerent operations, when the local courts are closed or prevented by some very good reason under the law of nations from taking jurisdiction of the case and trying the offender.

At the beginning of the Revolution the laws and usages of war sanctioned summary punishment without formal trial, when the offender had been caught in actual commission of the offense. Thus when Cap-

tain Nathan Hale, of the 19th Regiment Continental Infantry (Conn.), was by mere command of General Sir William Howe, and without trial, hanged as a spy, 22d September, 1776, General Washington could not rightfully complain of such action, however cruel, as an infraction of the law of nations as then recognized. It remained for the United States to set an example of moderation in this respect, which has since been generally imitated by Continental powers.

The manuscript order books of the American Army during the Revolutionary war are full of instances of the trials, with due solemnity and regularity, by courts-martial or military commissions, as the case might be, of spies and other offenders against the laws and usages of war. Thus, for example, General Washington, from Army Headquarters, Valley Forge, 3d June, 1778, issued the following General Orders: * *

"Thomas Shanks, on full conviction of his being a spy in the service of the enemy, *before a Board of General Officers*, held yesterday by order of the Commander-in-Chief, is adjudged worthy of death. He is, therefore, to be hanged to-morrow morning at guard mounting at some convenient place near the grand parade."

The Board of commissioned officers here referred to had equivalent signification to a "Military Commission," which is an international tribunal, like a "prize court," to administer a particular branch of international law, and composed of commissioned officers of the army.

It was not until 1806 that general courts-martial *as such* were given by Congress jurisdiction over the international offence of being a "spy," and to-day Section 1343 United States Revised Statutes declares that persons charged with such crime shall be triable either by a general court-martial or military commission. When, therefore, a general court-martial takes cognizance of such offense, it has to be guided in its decision by the laws and usages of war.

The case of Major John André, Adjutant-General of the British Army, is another good illustration of trial under this Code.

General Washington assembled a Board of fourteen general officers with the Judge Advocate General of the Army to investigate the charges. André's admission upon arraignment of what could have been easily proven avoided the necessity of oral evidence, and on the report of the Board, approved by the Commander-in-Chief, "that he ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy, and that agreeably to the law and usage of nations, he ought to suffer death," his execution followed as a necessary consequence. (General Orders Army Headquarters, Orange Town, 1 October, 1780.)

Much needless sympathy has been expressed as to his fate, doubtless due to his youth, talents and pleasing demeanor. Many even of the rank and file of the regular Continental soldiers commiserated his unfortunate situation. It should, however, not be forgotten that he enjoyed from his office the complete confidence of Sir Henry Clinton, and was possibly for that very reason intrusted with the difficult and dangerous service of arranging matters with Major-General Arnold for the treacherous surrender or capture of West Point and its dependencies. That André knew he was putting himself in unusual peril is manifest from his letter from New York of 7th September, 1780, to Colonel Elisha Sheldon, 2d Regiment United States Light Dragoons, who commanded the American cavalry outpost in Westchester County, and the subsequent injunctions of Sir Henry Clinton to him, André, not to quit his uniform.¹⁰ Had success followed his efforts, honors, fame, promotion, and possible pecuniary recompense would have been his. The baseness of the projected arrangement which he undertook to effect appears measurably greater from a study of the papers found upon him¹¹ by which it appears that in addition to the knowledge Sir Henry Clinton was to receive of the weakest points of defense, a mode of approach was indicated by which the brave garrison could have been most successfully attacked and slaughtered or overcome.

Although Sir Henry Clinton was justified under the laws and usages of war in *his* efforts to obtain so important a point as West Point with least loss to his own command, such justification does not extend to the spy, caught in the act, to whom a different rule is applied. André's undertaking became doubly disgraceful from the fact that he landed from the sloop-of-war Vulture, according to Lieutenant-General James Robertson and other British officers," "under the sanction of a flag of truce," and having come within the American lines in the night of 21st September, 1780, in a private and secret manner, he there bargained for a species of treachery against which no vigilance on the part of the garrison in the performance of duty would have availed. Sir Henry Clinton's act was a *governmental* one and not punishable. Major André's was an *individual* one, which could not lawfully have been commanded or required of him. In quitting the Vulture in the manner indicated and in lurking in and about the American lines in order to obtain information and in disguising himself to succeed, he became a spy, and liable to the prescribed penalty. His request to General Washington to be shot instead of hung was one, therefore, which could not be granted, because, in a military sense, such change in

the mode of execution would have been a mitigation of the sentence affixed by International Law to the odious offense of which he had been convicted.


The same rule is applicable to the International crime of piracy. No nation can lawfully commute or mitigate the sentence of a convicted pirate to imprisonment, for example, for a term of years. Lord Mahon¹² and some others have sought to justify André's conduct, but the decision in his case is now generally accepted as correct under the law of nations.

The resolutions¹³ of the Continental Congress, quoted by Colonel Lieber, of 30th June and 7th November, 1775; 27th December, 1776; 8th October, 1777; 1st January, 27th February and 29th December, 1778, were merely statutory announcements of what was sanctioned by the laws and usages of war.

The United States, then struggling for national existence, had to contend not only against invasions from abroad but against civil war. No State of the original thirteen escaped becoming the theatre of hostilities at some time or other during that period. New York was, for example, the scene of belligerent operations, not only on its northern and southern but also on its western frontiers throughout the Revolution.

As courts-martial in the American service have ever been courts of special and limited jurisdiction for the trial of persons actually in the military service or voluntarily serving therewith for offenses specifically designated by statute, authority has been rarely given to them over offenses under the laws and usages of war, which may have been committed by inhabitants of the country or by persons in the enemy's service. The resolution of the Continental Congress of 7th November, 1775, exceptionally authorized *courts-martial* to try *all* persons charged with holding a treacherous correspondence with or giving intelligence to the enemy, and to sentence to capital punishment.

The present 46th Article of War for the American army as re-enacted by Congress in 1874, and to be found in the United States Revised Statutes, substantially repeats this resolution. Under it many persons, during the Revolution, were convicted and hanged in the Northern and Middle Departments of which New York formed a part. Thus, for example, we find that Brigadier-General Alexander McDougall, United States Army, appointed a General Court-Martial of thirteen members, with Colonel Philip Cortland, 2d Regiment New York Continental Infantry, as President, and Captain Benjamin Walker, 4th Regiment New York Continental Infantry, as Judge Advocate, to sit at Peekskill. On the 11th April, 1777, one Simon Mabee came before



it charged with being employed by the enemy for the purpose of enlisting men into their service and with being a spy. He was convicted and duly executed. Two days later John Williams and others were tried before the same court for "holding a treacherous correspondence with the enemy, and enlisting men into their service." Several of these were found guilty and hanged.¹⁹

The Convention of the State of New York, by the several resolutions of 16th July, 1776, and 1st, 17th and 21st April, 1777, undertook to empower General Courts-Martial to "try all persons taken without the enemy's lines, owing allegiance to the State of New York and accused of *treason* in adhering to the King of Great Britain at open war with the United States, and aiding and abetting the unnatural war against them, or with enlisting as a soldier in the King's service *while owing allegiance to and deriving protection from the laws of the State.*"

Treason *per se* being a crime of civil cognizance cannot in these United States constitutionally come under the jurisdiction of a military court; nevertheless the same act which would be treason might also be a violation of the known laws and usages of war affecting the safety of the army, such as relieving the enemy with ammunition, or giving intelligence to him from the American lines, and thus render the offender amenable to trial by Military Commission.¹⁰

A number of general courts-martial, so called, both regular and militia, were convened in 1777 by Major-General Philip Schuyler and Brigadier-Generals George Clinton (soon afterwards Governor) and Alexander McDougall, U. S. A., and by Brigadier-General Abraham Ten Broeck, of the militia; the latter having left the New York Convention, of which he had been President, to go on active military duty. Although thus designated as courts-martial, they were, as to many of the cases tried, in point of fact Military Commissions to investigate offenses under the laws and usages of war, and were often composed of as many as twenty members. They could not always take the oath to "duly administer justice according to the rules and articles of war," because those rules did not except in exceptional instances provide for any such offenses. They therefore took a modified oath, suitable to the circumstances, to well and truly try and determine according to the laws and usages of war.

Of this description of court was one of eighteen members, held at Fort Montgomery, Wednesday, 30th April, 1777, by Brigadier-General George Clinton's orders, and of which Colonel Lewis Dubois, 5th Regiment New York Continental Infantry, was President, and Captain Stephen Lush, Paymaster of same regiment, Judge Advocate.

This tribunal tried one William McGinnis and a number of other men and sentenced them to death for "levying war against the State of New York, being enlisted soldiers in the service of the King of Great Britain, and of enlisting soldiers for his service whilst thus owing allegiance to the State of New York." "

Apparently these charges presented the civil crime of treason cognizable only in the civil courts of criminal jurisdiction, but upon looking at the evidence adduced it appears that the accused were found to have committed these overt and hostile acts within the actual military lines of the Americans, and hence were also amenable for a violation of the laws and usages of war. Others were regularly tried by the same Court under the Articles of War for holding correspondence with and giving intelligence to the enemy, voluntarily giving them aid and comfort, and were sentenced to be hung.

At another General Court-Martial, so called, of twenty officers of the militia in the United States service, which convened at Albany on the 21st May, 1777, and of which Colonel Stephen J. Schuyler, 6th Regiment Infantry, of Albany County, was President, and Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Varick, United States Army, Judge Advocate, one John Clint and a number of other persons were separately tried for the foregoing described offenses, and were sentenced capitally, or to undergo branding, fine and imprisonment, according to the nature and degree of the offense.¹⁸

Before still another so-called General Court-Martial of regulars, held the same year at Peekskill by order of Brigadier-General McDougall, and of which Colonel Henry B. Livingston, 4th Regiment New York Continental Infantry, was President and Captain Benjamin Walker, same regiment, Judge Advocate, were separately brought one John Likely and others, charged with "*treason* against the State of New York in adhering to the King of Great Britain, at open war with the United American States, aiding and abetting the unnatural war against them, declaring he had and would do it, comforting the enemies of these States and acting as a spy and agent of the enemy."¹⁹ The evidence adduced shows that the prisoners had violated the laws and usages of war in the manner alleged, for which they were duly sentenced by the Court, acting as a Military Commission.

The Court, however, saw very clearly that while the Articles of War enacted by Congress 20th September, 1776, explicitly gave them jurisdiction over *some* cases falling under the Law of Nations, such as where the prisoner was charged with "relieving the enemy with money,

victuals or ammunition, or knowingly harboring or protecting an enemy, or holding correspondence with or giving intelligence to the enemy, either directly or indirectly," nevertheless the offense of being a "guerilla-marauder" or "spy" under International Law and of "treason" under municipal law were not within the jurisdiction of a general court-martial as a statutory court. The Court accordingly drew up a respectful remonstrance to the convening authority, in which, after reciting the resolutions of the Convention of the State of New York of 16 July, 1776, and 1st, 17th and 21st April, 1777, by which jurisdiction was sought to be conferred over the felonious, civil or State crime of treason; it proceeded to say that "doubts have arisen within this Court * * * concerning the propriety of our determining the fate of our fellow-creatures by virtue of the above mentioned resolutions," * * * * * for the reasons * * * "that *State* prisoners should and ought to be tried by a court of this State, where they should have all the privileges of the law as freemen, and that which was once so much boasted of to be the constitution of Englishmen, viz: trial by jurymen of the vicinity and counsel, and further we fear whilst we are struggling for the sacred name of liberty, we are establishing the fatal tendency to despotism.

"That Martial-Law [*meaning military statute law*,] prescribes us an obligation by which we bind ourselves in the most solemn manner strictly to adhere to the Articles of War which the above mentioned resolutions are not a part of nor approved by the Continental Congress as an addition to the said Articles.

"Then, of necessity, we are obliged to create a new form of oath, as was done in the case of those prisoners heretofore mentioned, the propriety of which might be in question, for although we are empowered by the Convention to try such offenders by a set of men who have an undoubted right to invest judicial powers, yet they have given us nothing but resolutions, and have pointed out crimes without giving us instructions or prescribing us any other rules but the Articles of War, which we must entirely lay aside in such cases. * * * * * From this above mentioned inconsistency of trial this Court see the necessity of applying to your Honor for leave to be relieved from trying State prisoners any more, unless that the name Court-Martial should be changed to that of Judicature, the prisoners allowed an Advocate³⁰ to plead in their behalf, a jury, and the members of the Court sworn by the rules of Civil Law, &c."

Thus did a Court of regular officers early in the history of the nation show its respect for constituted authority and for the great fund-

amental rights of Englishmen in settled or discovered colonies, for which they were then contending, not the least of which were the rights which every civilian was claimed to possess when charged with a Common Law crime: of presentment or indictment by a grand jury, assistance of counsel for his defence, and trial by an impartial jury of peers of the vicinage by due process of law.

It is deserving remark that the same respect for the Constituted Civil authorities in matters of civil cognizance which was then evinced by the officers of that Court is to-day entertained by the officers of the American Army, and is not only traditional in the service but inculcated as an imperative duty.

Not long afterward, on the 22d July, 1777, another regular General Court-Martial, or more properly speaking, "Military Commission," sat at Peekskill by order of Major-General Israel Putnam, United States Army, Colonel William Shepard, 4th Regiment Massachusetts Continental Infantry, being the President, and Philip Pell, Jr., Esq., Deputy Judge Advocate. This Court tried one Edmund Palmer, a citizen, upon the charges *first*, of plundering, robbing and carrying off the cattle, goods, &c., of well affected inhabitants, and *second*, with being a spy from the enemy, lurking about the American lines and found within them." In his defense the prisoner showed he was a Lieutenant of Volunteers in the British service, but being duly convicted of the offenses charged he was accordingly executed. His trial gave rise to the laconic and curt historical reply of General Putnam to Major-General William Tryon, which was as follows:

HEADQUARTERS, 7th August, 1777.

"*Sir*:—Edmund Palmer, an officer in the enemy's service, was taken as a spy lurking within our lines; he has been tried as a spy, condemned as a spy, and shall be executed as a spy, and the flag is ordered to depart immediately.

Yours, &c.,

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

P. S. afternoon—he is hanged."

In approving the proceedings of the Military Commission in this case and in directing the sentence to be executed, General Putnam, from his Headquarters, Peekskill, 27th July, 1777, made on the record the following remarks; " * * * To preserve and perpetuate the felicities of society, to support and vindicate the rights of Civil Government against foreign force and invasion, the military power was originally erected, and for this purpose the American Armies now wave their banners in the field and myself am in arms. The military I consider as subservient to and

attendant upon the Civil: invested with competent powers for its own executive government and to preserve its own existence against all open and secret enemies, of the latter denomination are all spies, and thereby answer the end of its institution, by guarding its own safety, is enabled to defend the community against hostile invaders. These considerations, with the example of all ages, induce me to believe that spies are the most detestable of all enemies and ought to be speedily executed, though not without trial and legal conviction. Of this character is Palmer, the unhappy culprit, and for this, and not for robbery or burglary, which are crimes cognizable by the Civil power, do I sentence him, who by joining himself to the enemy and accepting an appointment from them, forfeited all right to the protection and immunities of the Government of which he was a subject. * * *

The language of General Putnam, as here given, although somewhat involved and ungrammatical, nevertheless expresses the idea prevalent then and now in the American service, that the regular army is but an executive force subordinate to the civil authority, to be employed in times of peace, when there may be resistance to constituted authority, in protecting and aiding such authority in the execution of the laws and to be used in time of war in an international sense, under the Chief Magistrate as Commander-in-Chief, in defense either of national existence, integrity or honor. While it is true, as stated by General Putnam, that robbery and burglary are crimes cognizable ordinarily by the civil power, yet there are times during war when the civil courts within the actual sphere of belligerent operations are closed or necessarily prevented from taking jurisdiction. In such cases the laws of war require the military authorities, usually through the agency of military commissions, to investigate and punish, in order to protect peaceable inhabitants.

In Lieutenant Palmer's case, therefore, even if he had not been a spy, his other offenses had been committed in the "neutral ground," where the authority of the State was powerless.

There were many such instances in the Revolution. Thus before a General Court-Martial, so-called (Military Commission), of which Colonel Philip Cortland, 2d Regiment New York Continental Infantry, was President, was brought Private David Hall, of Colonel W. Stewart's regiment of Light Infantry, charged with plundering an inhabitant of money and plate. The court found him guilty, and sentenced him to death. General Washington in approving the sentence ordered it to be executed the same afternoon, at half-past four o'clock. (General Orders, Army Headquarters, Steenrapie, 12 September, 1780.)

A few days later, before a Division General Court-Martial, so-called, assembled by Major-General Nathaniel Greene's orders, of which Lieutenant-Colonel Calvin Smith, 13th Regiment Massachusetts Continental Infantry, was President, Private Peter Nooney and three other soldiers in the same regiment were tried for "robbery." They were severally found guilty, and in accordance with their sentences duly executed, two-thirds of the court concurring in the imposition of such penalty." (Gen. Orders, Hdqrs., Orange Town, 27 September, 1780.)

To the American Army is largely due the credit of formulating and reducing to definite rules the Code of Martial Law—a code which, as we have seen, received considerable development during the Revolution. The service of the allied French army under General Washington brought to its notice the humane and improved manner in which military authority was exercised by the Americans under this Code, and the knowledge thus acquired undoubtedly contributed towards the ameliorations exhibited in subsequent European wars.

The Continental Congress did what it could in this direction, as, for example, when it instructed General Washington by resolution of 16th October, 1782, "to accede to the proposition of General Sir Guy Carleton for the mutual liberation of all clergymen, physicians, surgeons and apothecaries, and to prevent their being hereafter considered as prisoners of war."

During the war with Mexico, after the American "Army of Occupation," under Brevet Brigadier-General Zachary Taylor, had crossed the Rio Grande in 1846, that officer was annoyed and disconcerted by deliberate assassinations of his soldiers in Matamoras, Monterey and other places. An examination of the "Rules and Articles of War," enacted by Congress for the government of the army in times of peace and war, showed that no jurisdiction was given to courts-martial over such offenses. It would, of course, have been sheer folly to have sent such cases before local Mexican courts, when it was plain that the acts mentioned were merely the outgrowth of national hostility, embittered by war. The General-in-Chief, Major-General Winfield Scott, however, clearly saw what the law of nations authorized in such cases, and accordingly, so soon as he landed at Tampico, with another army on a different line of operations, he published his celebrated and now rare order on "martial law," which was again referred to by him at Vera Cruz, and republished from the National Palace, in the City of Mexico, after the American Army had obtained triumphant possession. (Gen. Orders,

CUBAN ANTIQUITIES—THE CANEYS OF THE DEAD

The word *caney* belongs to the idiom of the Indians of the great Antilles, and consequently to that which was spoken by the natives of Cuba, to whom the venerable Bishop Las Casas gave the name of *Siboneyes*. It means a house of conical construction, and in a larger sense applies in the eastern and other parts of the "Queen of the Antilles" to things and objects of delicate form. The *caney*s are elevations of earth in the form of truncated cones. The river *caney*s are circular mounds which from a bird's-eye view display curves somewhat analagous, and they are even to be found on the borders of the sea which bears that name, such as that which served for the primitive commerce of Sanctus Spiritus in the Mar del Sur. From the term "*Caney* of the dead" a great number of corpses is not to be inferred, nor yet a cemetery nor anything resembling the tumuli or constructions on the surface of the earth, which are called in the United States mounds and in Spanish *terraplens*. Whether intended or not for places of burial, a *caney* is an artificial elevation of ground which is believed to be the work of man. It is not the Mexican *Teocalli*, for the *good* Indians, the *peaceful* and domesticated inhabitants born on the soil, never got as far as that; but it is one of the saddest remains that Cuba offers of the passage of the ages which have preceded us in history.

The memoirs of the Patriotic Society of Havana had already been published in 1844, when the periodicals of Puerto Principe announced the existence of *fossil human skeletons*, which was of small importance towards the general information concerning the country at that period. There are still in Cuba a few deposits of human bones, not only in *caney*s, but also in numerous caves. In them were mingled the remains of wild negroes, of native Indians and of *guanajos*, who, driven by despair at the prospect of the toil to which they were condemned perished there by pestilence or famine. The negroes, especially the "*minas*," and in our time the Chinese, have turned to suicide as the supreme remedy for the sufferings of slavery. The notices published in Camaguéy were not a novelty. The existence of human fossils was already known, because the word "fossil," is itself an equivalent for "hidden," or "buried," according to its etymology: *fossilis*. Scientific men like Don Andres del Rio applied the system of Berzelio to all mineralogy under the name of *Orictonocia*, or "knowledge of fossils." No one would have supposed that

geology, which by its most distinguished champions, Cuvier and Lyell, had opposed the theory of *Pre-Adamites*, would abandon its most determined position, which recognized in man the last being which appeared in creation in the layers of the formations of the earth. But it is well to define these discoveries of fossil skeletons. Every one has heard in Cuba, Saint Domingo and Porto Rico of deposits of bones and bodies, and of the Caneys of the dead, which tradition connects with the Indians.

"It is many years," say the writers of these papers in Camaguéy (*Memoirs of the Society*, p. 45, No. 102, 1844) "since we heard of those which were found in this jurisdiction." The discovery itself was described by Bernabé Mola, who received his information from Don Francisco Antonio de Agramonte, both of whom were interested as compatriots in the study and progress of the country. The picture they draw of the ground resembles that which was made of the place in which the skeletons were found in the island of Guadaloupe, of which I shall make mention later. "The spot where what we shall call the cemetery is found," say the *Memoirs* and the article quoted, in which repose the skeletons described, is on the southern coast, near the bay of Santa Maria Caimba,* and an estuary, *which has received from it the name of the Creek of the Caneys, because upon it there are to be seen scattered several of these sepulchres which are of a conical form, quite perpendicular, and presenting when seen in profile the opening of an extremely obtuse angle.* By compass the spot mentioned is west-south-west (from Puerto Principe), and to be more precise, a quarter due west — about sixteen provincial or Cuban leagues (of five thousand yards) in a straight line." The spot of the find is characterized as low and the coast as overflowed, particularly that called the Vertientes (bubble wells,) over which the sea has made its invasion in the lapse of time. To these circumstances he ascribes the discovery of the skeletons aforesaid, which we doubt, as it is only at low tide that the mentioned cemetery is left dry. There were discovered incrustated in the arena various skeletons, apparently of both sexes and of children, for the bones of these were found placed between the first, which seemed to be those of women. The high stature of the skeletons leads us to suppose that they were of an Indian race now entirely extinct."

Nor yet is the supposition new that such remains existed in the Antilles even in this very form. On the shores of Guadaloupe there had before been found human skeletons incrustated in a hard dark rock. Zimmerman speaks of them, denying their authenticity as true fossils, and Hitchcock (*Elementary Geology*, p. 100, 1841) also mentions them. At

first sight the discovery of human fossils, in the true meaning of the word, did not appear to be quite established, but from its appearance in alluvial matter, and from the objects of recent date that surrounded it, it can not be assigned to a period further back than some hundreds of years. The doubt entertained by Zimmerman is confirmed, and it has even been explained by the battle fought near where they were found, between the *Caribs* and *Galibits* in 1710.

The skeletons did not indicate an epoch more remote than the Mosaic deluge. Geology served as a support to the Bible, and philology sought in it its arguments. Johnes two years later wrote his "Philological proofs of the original unity and recent origin of man (1846.)" His work quotes Cuvier and Lyell, and confirms the "Theory of the Earth" of the first, and the Geology of the second.

The wise *Scheutzer* published in the last century a copious series of fossil remains to which he gave the name of *Fossils of the Deluge* in his splendid "*Fisica Sacrada*" and other special works on the same subject. He deemed it a very strange circumstance that human remains were so rare, and that he had only found two vertebrae (which had become black) and a large part of a skeleton. I have under my eye the print, excellent in its execution and design, and engraved as were all his works with a perfection which this century has not much surpassed (Vol. I, plate XLIX). This illustrious physician, this wise professor, believed that this was a *petrification* of nearly the whole of the spine and part of a human skull; but Cuvier demonstrated that it was a *salamander*! Even a portion of the liver the learned doctor believed to be petrified. The man of the tertiary period over whose remains the pious writer made such pathetic declamations was reduced to a great lizard. In 1844 the only pre-Adamites were such in a prophetic sense or upon theoretic principles; just as Voltaire and Barthelemy anticipated Nieburgh and Mommsen in the theory of the fabulous nature of Roman history. Zimmerman announced paleontologic discoveries *à priori*. The skeletons of Guadaloupe, two in number, were carried to the museums of Europe; this was known in Cuba in 1844. The Camaguéan periodicals noticed the fact, and even added "that the manner of the sepulchre authorized the conjecture of the existence among them (the race extinguished by the Spaniards) of some barbarous practices, such as had been noticed in other places."

But these Indian bones and other reminders of the past were not found in the *caneys* only but in caves. My friend, Don Andres Stanislas, met with them in Porto Rico, and many times spoke to me of them;

they exist in the upper islands. The United States are full of geological data from which science has discovered old errors. Charles Lyell, the most distinguished champion of the *recent origin* of man has admitted that one skeleton and other surrounding testimonies which were found in the delta of the Mississippi had overset his old opinions; and Dr. Dowler has estimated that it was *fifty thousand years old*. Griffin Lee makes the period longer. *Mound Folliet* was a gigantic *caney* in form until it was levelled. (Le Hon. *L'Homme fossile*, p. 211, Priest's American Antiquities p. 196, fig. 1 of the plates.)

The existence in Cuba of *fossil man* has also been demonstrated by the learned naturalist Don Felipe Poey upon evidence collected by the indefatigable enthusiastic and estimable explorer of Cuba, Don Miguel Rodriguez Ferrer.

The existence of pre-historic man in America proves that the antiquity of its early population is greater than that of which is called the old world, and that Cuba was part of the primitive world. Our subject is not yet exhausted.

ANTONIO BACHILLER

* Caimba is the name for the holes in rocks or trees in which deposits of water are found. It seems to me an indigenous word, and I write it with an (s), although the Spanish sailors call it *Cacimba*. It is a word of general use in Brazil in the same sense but limited to the ground only. The Portugese write it with an *e*. The same occurs in *Cibo*, *Ciba*, *Cibao*, &c.

MARQUIS DE FLEURY

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY

Teisseidre, Marquis de Fleury (François-Louis), the hero of Stony Point, son of François de Fleury and Marguerite Domadieu, his wife, was born the 28th of August, 1749, at St. Hippolyte, in Languedoc.

La Fayette says in his Memoirs that M. de Fleury belonged to the regiment of Gâtinais, but in a document in the archives of the French War Department it is stated that he entered the regiment of Rouergue as volunteer (15 May, 1768), and served in it during the campaign of Corsica, rising gradually to the rank of first lieutenant.

In 1776 he sailed for America with Trouson du Coudray, 'having received a leave of absence and the rank of captain of engineers from his Government. On his arrival he joined the American army as volunteer, and accompanied it in this capacity during a part of the campaign of 1777. He received the rank of captain for his gallant conduct at the battle of Biscatagua.' He was then sent to Philadelphia, coming theatre of the war, to map its suburbs, sound the Delaware and fortify Billingsport. He rejoined the army with the rank of Major of Brigade when the enemy landed at Hith.

His brave and gallant conduct at the Brandywine (11 September, 1777), where he remained on the battlefield after the rout of his brigade, and had his horse killed under him, attracted the notice and admiration of Washington, who drew the attention of Congress to him. The Quartermaster-General received orders to present M. de Fleury with a horse, "*in token of the high esteem in which his merit was held by Congress.*" He served as Major of the Brigade of Dragoons at the battle of Germantown, was wounded in the leg, took several prisoners, and had the horse given to him by Congress killed under him. He was then sent as Engineer-in-Chief to Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island, which was threatened by the English squadron and army. There he sustained a siege of six weeks, during which the *August* (64 guns) and the *Merlin* (22) were blown up by the fire of the fort. The commandant and the garrison of 600 men were relieved three times, but M. de Fleury steadily refused to quit his post. He was severely wounded on the 16th of October, and the same night the fort was evacuated. He was made Lieutenant-Colonel, and received a letter of thanks for his able and valiant conduct from the President of Congress.

During the winter of 1778 he formed the bold project to cross the ice and set fire to the English squadron. The Delaware not being entirely frozen that winter, he invented "batteaux mines," which were to be worked by the repulsion of fuses; but whilst he was working on them he was ordered to the Army of the North. The expedition into Canada did not take place. On his return he was made Inspector, and was charged with instructing and disciplining the troops.

At the opening of the campaign of 1778 he was the second in command of a picked corps (which comprised the body guard of the General) of 600 men, 2 pieces of artillery and 50 cavalry. He led it into action at the battle of Monmouth. Washington sent him to meet the Comte d'Estaing on the latter's arrival in America, and he accompanied him to Rhode Island, which was to be attacked. His entreaties prevailed on the Admiral to raise the useless siege of Newport and to retire to the north of the island. His company repulsed the enemy and covered the retreat.⁴ The Comte d'Estaing wrote to General Washington: "Allow me to recommend M. de Fleury especially to your good graces. General Sullivan will tell you all about his conduct at Rhode Island. He is an excellent officer and a useful Frenchman. I hope to serve again with him. He is a man made to unite private individuals in the same way that our nations are united."⁵

Mr. de Fleury commanded a regiment of light cavalry when the campaign of 1779 opened. He was the first to scale the ramparts of Stony Point, and he carried off the English flag with his own hand. For this brilliant deed Congress awarded him a medal, which was fastened to a band cut from the flag he had so gallantly captured. He was the only Frenchman to whom such an honor was accorded. This medal is in the collection given by Mr. Vattemare to the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, and he describes it as follows: "A general in Roman costume, standing on a pile of ruins, holding in one hand a drawn sword and in the other a flag, on which he is tramping. *Legend*: VIRTUTIS ET AUDACIÆ MONUM ET PRAEMUM—*Exergue*. D. DE FLEURY EQUITI GALLO PRIMO SUPRA MUROS, RESPUB. AMERIC. (Duvivier fecit). Reverse—A fortress built on a rock and besieged by a squadron. *Legend*: AGGERES, PALUDES, HOSTES VICTI—*Exergue*. STONY-POINT. Jul. mdccclxxix."

The President of Congress wrote to him: "Congress hopes that your own country will show its appreciation of your merit."⁶ And the French Minister wrote "that he flattered himself that the Court would give in the person of M. de Fleury a proof to America of the satisfaction with which it has seen that a French officer had been so useful in

her service."¹ When M. de la Luzerne arrived General Washington begged him to give an account of M. de Fleury's gallant conduct to the French Court; and M. de la Luzerne wrote to the Council about it.

At the end of the campaign M. de Fleury asked for and obtained a leave of absence of nine months, and General Washington wrote to Congress on M. de Fleury's departure that he hoped for the return of an officer who had rendered such important services.

M. de Fleury returned to France. Whilst there he addressed a memoir to the Court, wherein he gave an account of his services, ending as follows: "M. de Fleury having thus by his services risen from the rank of simple soldier to that of Lieutenant-Colonel, honored by the good will of the Nation and the Army, by the esteem of Congress, by the confidence of his General, ventures to solicit some sign of the approbation of his Prince and of the Minister under whose auspices he passed into the service of the allies of France. Although convinced that he owes his success more to his good fortune than to his talents, and that his zeal alone was able to compensate for his inability, he ventures to hope that his country will not disdain his services, and that that happiness of every Frenchman, the return to a loved land, will not be for him a sorrow and a disgrace. P. S. M. de Fleury has drawn some plans and written some memoirs which have received the approbation of M. Girard. He asks leave to present them to the Minister."

M. de Fleury received the rank of Chevalier de Saint Louis, 5th December, 1781, and a pension of 400 francs was awarded to him for his services at the siege and capture of Yorktown. He returned to America in the "Aigle" with the Prince de Broglie and several other officers, and rejoined the army; but finding that the war was practically over, and that his services were no longer necessary, he went to South America to make some explorations. On his return to France he was made Colonel of a regiment at Pondichéry, 1784, and died in his native land with the rank of "Maréchal-de-Camp."

ELISE WILLING BALCH

NOTE.—This sketch is translated from the second and unpublished part of "*Les Français en Amérique*," by the late Thomas Balch, Esq., of Philadelphia.

¹ *Les Français en Amérique*, pp. 71-72. ² ³ ⁴ Mémoire of M. de Fleury in Archives of French War Department. ⁵ Letter of M. d'Estaing. ⁶ Mémoire of M. de Fleury in the Archives of the French War Department. ⁷ Mémoire of M. de Fleury in the Archives of the French War Department.

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Henry White

CHAPTER I. WHITE AND HIS FAMILY

The family of the first Henry White a Welsh origin. The Welsh genealogist, Jones, locates it as Ddunm, near Uskbridge, in Glamorgan, in the 13th century. The archives of the War Office contain a petition of the family in 1584. They bore a coat-blazoned: Silver, a chevron between three argent two above and one below. Crest, a hand holding a sword.

The family of the second Henry White family settled in the province of Maryland, and was descended from the father of Henry White, the subject of this study. The second Henry White, in the British army, joined his uncle, and emigrated from England in 1712.

The third Henry White, according to the family account, was born in America, but resided for some time in England. He later returned to this country and settled in New York, and his kinsmen in Maryland helped him to their property. He first appears on the records of colonial trade in a petition dated May 8, 1756, for leave to import goods to South Carolina for the use of the navy. He was then a partner of Samuel Bowman, Jr., and Jo. Yates, of Charleston. He was in France, after a hollow truce of several years, had just returned, and the authorities had imposed restrictions on the importation of home products to neighboring colonies. The trade in goods between them was never permitted. The next year he was engaged in the importation of the usual varieties of European goods from London and Bristol, his store being in King street.

On the 14th May, 1761, he married Eve Van Cortlandt, daughter of a Dutchman and granddaughter of Jacobus Van Cortlandt, the founder of the Van Cortlandt family. The Van Cortlandt family was one of the wealthiest and most important of the colony, and the branch to which young White connected himself had long added to its wealth and influence by intermarriage with that of the Philips, whose extensive possessions of Philippsburgh, in Westchester county, extended from the Hudson River on the south nearly to the north, the mansion of the Philips on the north, and from the Hudson on the west to the Bronx on the east. The family found extending its commercial operations and the owner of the Moro, a ship whose heavy armament and rig indicates that she was employed in privateering, the main occupation of the time. This alliance with the Van Cortlandts secured to the young




HENRY WHITE AND HIS FAMILY

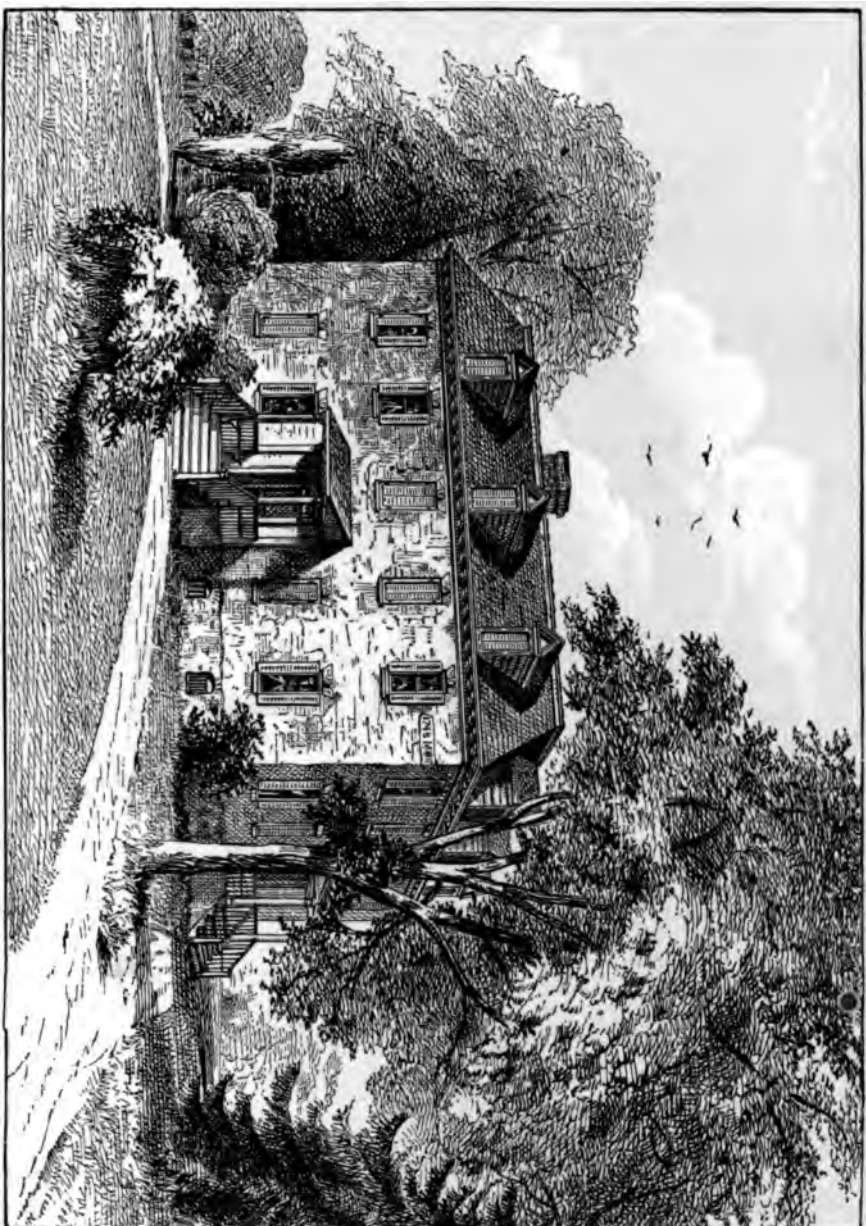
Tradition assigns to the family of White a Welsh origin. The earliest record of it, however, locates it at Denham, near Uxbridge, Buckinghamshire, England. The archives of the Herald's Office contain a grant of arms to the family in 1584. They are thus blazoned: Shield, azure, three roses argent, two above and one below. Crest, a lion's head couped, argent.

The American branch of the family settled in the province of Maryland at quite an early period; the father of Henry White, the subject of this sketch, who was a Colonel in the British army, joined his uncle in that colony, emigrating from England in 1712.

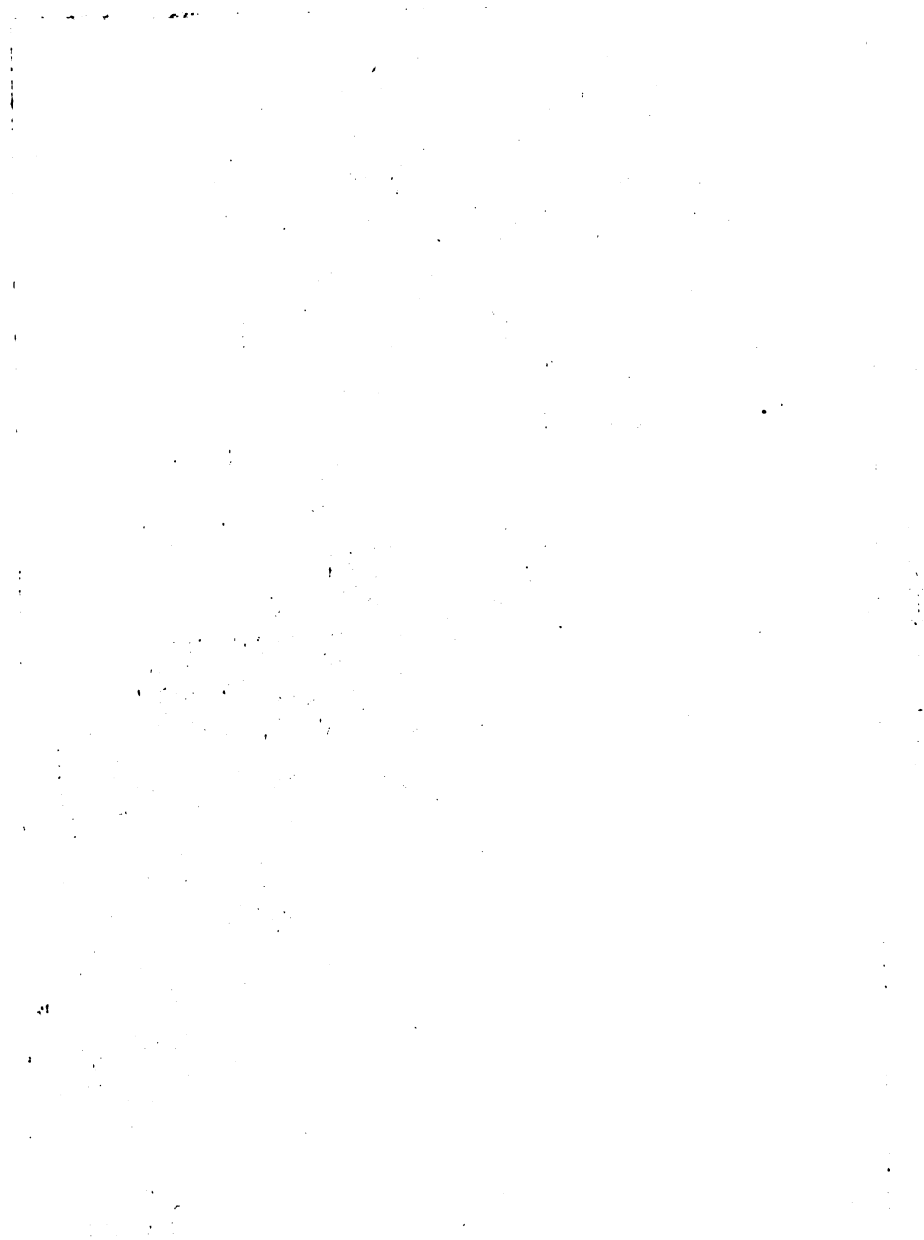
Henry White, according to the family account, was born in America but received his education in England. He later returned to this country and established himself as a merchant in New York, and his kinsmen in Maryland dying out he fell heir to their property. He first appears on the busy scene of colonial trade in a petition dated May 8, 1756, for leave to ship bread to South Carolina for the use of the navy. He was then acting as agent of Samuel Bowman, Jr., and Jo. Yates, of Charleston. The war with France, after a hollow truce of several years, had just broken out afresh and the authorities had imposed restrictions on the export even of home products to neighboring colonies. The trade in English goods between them was never permitted. The next year he was engaged in the importation of the usual varieties of European goods from London and Bristol, his store being in King street.

On the 13th May, 1761, he married Eve Van Cortlandt, daughter of Frederick and granddaughter of Jacobus Van Cortlandt, the founder of the younger branch of that family. The Van Cortlandt family was one of the wealthiest and most important of the colony, and the branch with which young White connected himself had largely added to its wealth and influence by intermarriage with that of Philipse, whose extensive manor of Philipsborough, in Westchester County, extended from the Harlem River on the south nearly to the south line of the manor of Cortlandt on the north, and from the Hudson on the west to the Bronx on the east. He is now found extending his commercial operations and the owner of the *Moro*, a sloop whose heavy armament of ten guns indicates that she was employed in privateering, the favorite business of the time. This alliance with the Van Cortlandts secured the fortune of the young





CORTLANDT HOUSE—NEAR KINGSBRIDGE



Tryon that he was in England. In the fall of the same year he returned to the city with the second division of the Hessian troops, and from his influence with the citizens was of great service to Governor Tryon in securing the peace of the population, discontented and chafing under the restriction of military rules. The next year he was first of a committee of four to receive donations for the equipment of provincial regiments for the King's service, and remained in the city during the war, acting as the agent of the Home Government in various ways, chiefly in the sale of captured vessels and cargoes and the distribution of prize money among the British men-of-war.

On the 9th October, 1780, according to the record in the Surrogate's office, he appeared before the Surrogate to prove the will of the unfortunate André, when he declared that he was well acquainted with the testator's handwriting. He left the city and returned to England prior to the evacuation of New York in the fall of 1783.

Mr. White did not long survive the war. He died in Golden Square, London, on the 23d day of December, 1786, and was buried in the church-yard of St. James, Westminster, in Picadilly. An obituary notice in the "Gentleman's Magazine" said of him that "in public life he united the dignity of office with the respectability and integrity of a British merchant; and during the late troubles in America exhibited a zeal and attachment to Government that was at once exemplary and appropriate." Like many others, Mr. White paid the penalty of his loyalty.

Mr. White was attainted of treason to the State of New York, and his estates were forfeited by the Act of 1779. His home in Queen street, at the time in the occupation of George Clinton, the first Governor of the State, was sold in May, 1786. Fortunately the Constitution of the State adopted at Kingston contained a wise and liberal provision that no attainder should work "corruption of blood." But the fortune of Mr. White, independent of the estates of his wife, was ample. His influence was also great in official circles. Of his sons by his wife Eve Van Cortlandt, one, Henry, remained in America. William Tryon, another, named after his old friend, the Governor of New York, was a Captain in the East India Company's service.

Henry White, the eldest son, married his first cousin, Anne, daughter of Augustus Van Cortlandt. Their eldest son, Augustus, assumed the name of Van Cortlandt, and inherited a large estate at Yonkers, under his grandfather's will. Dying without issue, he devised to his brother Henry, who in turn assumed the name of Van Cortlandt,

a life interest in this estate, and, failing issue to him, a life estate to his nephew Augustus Van Cortlandt Bibby, and remainder to the eldest son him surviving. This nephew was a son of his sister Augusta, who had married Dr. Edward N. Bibby, whose father, Captain Thomas Bibby, an officer on the Staff of General Fraser, had secured an exchange after the Convention at Saratoga, and established himself in New York. Henry Van Cortlandt did not long enjoy the property; he died without issue the year of his inheritance, when it passed into the hands of Mr. Augustus Van Cortlandt (Bibby). With the old estate, and the name maintained by careful provision, also passed "Cortlandt House," near Kingsbridge, the residence of the family, and one of the most interesting relics of the colonial period. The history of this house, a view of which as it appears to-day accompanies this sketch, is full of romantic interest.

The old mansion of Jacobus Van Cortlandt was destroyed by fire about 1748, when the present, a large stone dwelling-house, was erected by Frederick Van Cortlandt. Built on a plateau on the eastern slope of the river chain of hills, it commands an extensive interior view. The long and smiling vale of Yonkers stretches beneath it, and to the southward the placid landscape ends in the Fordham heights. The ground in front was artificially terraced and ornamented after the old French manner of gardening, with large box trees and hedges, with here and there small sheets of water and diminutive fountains.

The interior is not less quaint and interesting. The windows are old-fashioned and the dispositions of the upper stories odd. An air of old-time, which would have charmed the heart of Hawthorne, still pervades the whole building, which bears its date in iron figures on its gables. In the library there are several portraits, one of the most interesting of which is of a Mr. Badcock, a friend of Mr. White, the son of the subject of this sketch. Another is the celebrated portrait of Henry White by John Singleton Copley, from which the engraving which accompanies this sketch is taken. The attitude is fine and the coloring wonderful in its fidelity. The warm flesh tints bear unerring witness to a reasonable indulgence in "generous wine that maketh glad the heart of man" and heightens nature's hues.

The Philipse Manor was all historic ground. When the Provincial Convention adjourned in August, 1776, from Harlem to Fishkill, the Committee of Safety, which held daily sessions in the interim, stopped here and held an important meeting on the Manor. When New York was in the hands of the British the Hessian Jagers had a picket guard on the ground and the officers were garrisoned in the house.

Washington dined at Cortlandt House in 1781, when he made his famous feint upon the British lines, and many a skirmish took place between the patriots and De Lancey's loyal Refugee Corps, the French, and the Hessians, and here occurred the bitter struggle between the Stockbridge Indians, who had joined Washington, and the Queen's Rangers, under Colonel Simcoe.

There are other details of the old house that deserve a passing notice. To the beauty of its outward surroundings and inward adornments there was added a famous cellar. The régime was that usual in the good old days of Madeira and Port when annual provision was made by cask, the old, and half old, being refilled in the order of their succession. This was the earlier fashion. Later, demijohns of famous vintages, under the name of their importers or the vessel which brought them, took the place of this primæval practice. Then the well-stored vaults held Blackburn, March and Benson, Page, Convent, White and other well-known importations of Madeira, in rich profusion; and the "White" Port held undisputed rank. Nor must the "Resurrection" Madeira be forgotten, so called because buried during the Revolution and dug up at its close. Here the uncovering of the brilliant mahogany, and the toast of "Absent friends and Sweethearts," was the signal for a merry bout, where convivial songs added to the charm of the occasion and flinching was not allowed. We have heard of a deserter who, seeking to escape "the glass too much," broke from the festive hall, took the porch steps at a bound, and followed down the lane by the whole company in hot pursuit, and to the cry of view-halloo "with one brave bound cleared the gate," and a five-barred gate at that. "Old times are changed, old manners gone;" but stranger and friend alike still meet from the erect and stately host the same elegant cordiality, and it will be a marvel indeed if he do not find that Cortland House and the White vintages alike deserve their fame.

Two of the Sons of Henry White entered the British service: the elder, John Chambers White, was commissioned in the navy, rose to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the White, and was made Knight Commander of the Bath, June 29, 1841. Frederick Van Cortlandt White received the commission of Ensign 19 Feb., 1781; was made Colonel of the First Regiment of Foot Guards (the Grenadier Guards) 1 Jan., 1805, and Major-General 25 July, 1810. On the army registers his name appears as Frederic C. and sometimes as Frederic Charles, but this latter is an error. Both these officers lived in London, and are now dead. Of his daughters, Ann was married to Doctor afterwards Sir John

McNamara Hayes, Bart., of Golden Square, London. They all resided in England, while Margaret, married to Peter Jay Munro of Westchester, and Frances to Dr. Archibald Bruce, lived and died in New York.

Some account of Eve Van Cortlandt, the wife of Henry White and the mother of these children, may interest the reader. She is well remembered by many of our older citizens. She was born, as entered in her father's family bible, 22 May, 1736, and died on the 19 August, 1836, in the one hundred and first year of her age, having more than completed a century of existence. She left the United States with her husband at the close of the revolution, and on her last return from Europe in 1804, occupied the house at No. 11 Broadway, her own by inheritance, till her death. This house, which stood for one hundred and forty-years, has been erroneously supposed by some of our local historians to have been the coffee-house kept by Burns in the Stamp Act period. It was not a public house until after the death of Mrs. White, when it was for some years known as the Atlantic Garden. Its site is now the station of the Elevated Railroad. Mrs. White was buried in the family vault, on Vault Hill, near Cortlandt House, on the 22d of August, 1836.

Her long life embraced a period full of remarkable events. Born early in the reign of George II, she lived till after the coronation of Queen Victoria. As a child she heard of the final defeat of the Stuart pretender at Culloden, and among her friends were officers who had fought on that bloody field. The foundation of the British empire in India, the seven years' war and the capture of Canada, the American revolution and the Independence of the United States, were the stirring incidents of her middle age. The young prince Louis XV was on the throne when she was born; the French revolution had swept away the monarchy, the star of Napoleon had risen and dazed the world with its glory and set in the darkness of exile, and the restoration had given way to constitutional monarchy under Louis Phillipe, before she closed her career. The packets from England had brought to her ears the news of the war of the Austrian Succession; the thrilling story of Maria Theresa, the partition of Poland, the birth of the Prussian Kingdom, the wonderful reign of the great Catharine. When she first saw the light New York was a provincial town and had not crept beyond the Commons, the present City Hall Park; they closed upon an imperial city, the commercial metropolis of a nation. In 1736 Clarke ruled the colony by Royal authority, in 1836 Marcy was governor of the Empire State, and General Jackson, the hero of a second war with Great Britain, was the eighth

President of the Great Republic. To few is it allotted to witness an historic panorama such as this, with its moving procession of courtiers, warriors, statesmen and sages. It is marvellous to think that she had heard from living lips the story of the passage of New York from its Dutch dynasty to the English rule, and that she lived to relate it to the present generation.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

NOTE.—For many of the facts and biographical details the Editor takes pleasure in acknowledging his obligations to Mr. Edward F. de Lancey, of this city, a maternally great-grandson of Mr. and Mrs. White.

KEESE-ANA

To the August number of the "Magazine of American History" Mr. Evert A. Duyckinck contributed an appreciative and entertaining paper entitled "Keese-ana;" being his recollections of my father, the late John Keese. It was my hope that the publication of the article in question might awaken further "recollections" among those who knew him in the old times, for, as Mr. Duyckinck feelingly says, "Keese was a man who should not pass out of memory with the recollections of his many friends of the present fleeting generation;" and it is equally a matter of regret with his family, as with Mr. Duyckinck, that his name is not included in any American biographical dictionary. Surely a man whose life's aim was the diffusion of knowledge, whose name was identified with many important literary undertakings, and whose fame as an auctioneer was beyond doubt unique—deserves a record more enduring than memory.

Very few, if any, indeed, however, of my father's literary friends, to whom the preparation of a memoir would be an easy and not unwelcome task, are now living. Morris, Willis, Halleck, Hoffman, Tuckerman, the brothers Clark, George P. Putnam, and many others—all are gone. All save poor Hoffman, whose mental darkness is worse than death itself. How well I remember him! He and Tuckerman were frequent visitors at our house, and my brother and myself were often tutored by them in the recitation of their poems. Mr. Hoffman's "Sparkling and Bright" was my earliest committal to memory, and I can vividly recall my rather spasmodic interpretation of Mr. Tuckerman's "Apollo Belvedere." Then it was Mr. Hoffman's delight to equip us with shovel and tongs—which last article my father declared would do on a pinch—and put us through a military drill, ending with a stern peremptory "Dismiss!"—the obeying of which order was the one sole success of our performance. Mr. Hoffman was soldier, hunter, wit, poet, all in one; and as I remember him one of the most charming of men. He had a fund of stories of adventure, and drew towards him the young with a magic equal to that of the Piper of Hamelin. Too juvenile then to understand or value the company so often assembled at my father's, I comprehend now all that it meant, and fancy what an intellectual commerce it must have been.


In a note received from Mr. Duyckinck, after the publication of his paper, he wrote me that his personal knowledge of my father was limited to the auction room, and was kind enough to say that with the

material possibly at my command an additional chapter of Recollections might be given that would happily supplement his, and allow the employment of new matter. To accomplish this, and as a loving duty, the present writer begs the indulgence of his readers.

It was during the period of the literary gatherings above referred to that the various published works cited by Mr. Duyckinck—to which list may be added "The Forest Legendary," a collection of Metrical Tales of the North American Woods—were edited by my father. They were so many evidences of good taste, literary discrimination, and a thoughtful consideration of the claims of genius and of refined culture; but it is not needful to dwell upon them save in the case of the "Poets of America," which deserves more than a passing glance.

This compilation was really the first repository that could lay claim to being distinctly representative of native poetry, presented in an attractive form. "American Poetry," says the editor's preface, "has hitherto been little more than a happy accident, and seems to have arisen in spite of the practical tendencies of our country and the prosaic character of our time. * * * It has usually come before the public eye in small, detached portions, with slight pretention to permanence in the form of its publication, and has been rescued from speedy oblivion only by its own beauty and power. The genius of the artist and the liberality of the publisher, have done far too little towards presenting in an attractive shape, and with due advantages, the finest productions of our poets. We have left our pearls unstrung. We have made few attempts to heighten the brilliancy of our gems by the beauty of their setting."

No one will doubt the truth of these words who will consider for a moment how the popular taste for a few years past has come to regard illustrations as an almost indispensable adjunct to collections of poetry, and that publishers are as truly alive to the importance of pictorial embellishment as they are to that of the text it adorns. It was, then, prophetic forecast to discern the needed element. The reading public was quick to recognize the delicate and graceful creations of the artist's pencil in the Poets of America, and the work in two series passed through several editions, universally commended by the press and admired by all lovers of poetry. Whether my father would have become an author—that is, a writer of books—as Mr. Duyckinck hints, had he not been attached to the selling of them, I can hardly offer an opinion. Author he certainly was in more ways than one; for if all the jests, epigrams, impromptu verses, that were his, and all the sonnets, valentines, dedicatory poems, &c., written for friends for years and years should be printed,



they would make a portly volume. But how useless to speculate when we know that he found his field in the auction room—a fresh wood and pasture new indeed; but in which he made himself at home so quickly and so perfectly that it was easy to see that he was to the manner born. Whatever display of wit he may have made in literary coteries, or the social circle, or at festive celebrations, died with the occasion that gave it birth, or was faintly recorded in memory, to fade as soon; but from his pulpit in the sales-room he spoke to the public at large, and his witticisms passed from lip to lip, were jotted down and carried home and crept into the papers, and were thus circulated and became a living record. And so John Keese, Auctioneer, is the objective point of my sketch.

The high compliment of being the “wittiest book auctioneer of his day in New York,” is paid him by Mr. Duyckinck, and it is equally true that he “left no successor in his peculiar vein.” That “peculiar vein” was an illuminating wit that played electrically upon every subject it touched; flashed light into nooks and corners; invested dull commonplaces with a hue of glory, and turned unmeaning or ambiguous title-pages into sudden and felicitous revelations. Add to this a wide knowledge of books and authors, an exceptional memory, a keen perception of every vantage ground, and above all, a celerity in retort that was surprising—and you have an intellectual equipment rarely found in the possession of an auctioneer.

It is no wonder that people flocked to the evening sales; and I have heard many say that to go there was as good as a play; so that the late William E. Burton, to whom in after years my father became warmly attached, whose theatre was then in Chambers street, regarded the auction room of Cooley & Keese as no contemptible rival. And here I am reminded of an experience related by that famous comedian, which, although a tale of his own crushing discomfiture, was told with great relish. The story has never been in print, and is really too good to be lost.

It annoyed Mr. Burton very much when in the tag of the play certain of the audience began the bustle of departure, and he determined to embrace the first opportunity to administer a public rebuke. He had not long to wait. One evening towards the close of the piece, the characters standing in order for the epilogue, an auditor arose in the gallery and commenced buttoning his coat. Mr. Burton left his place and stepped to the footlights. “Excuse me, sir, but the play is not yet finished, and you disturb the audience. Have the goodness to sit down.”

The stranger, without pausing in his preparation, promptly replied: "Can't help it. I've listened to your infernal trash long enough, and now I'm going." "And what did you say, Burton?" exclaimed the late Henry Placide, who was one of the amused group. "Harry," said Burton with an air of complete humiliation, "I couldn't say a d—d word!" My father was quite right in thinking that the actor received on that occasion emphatically a curtain lecture.

In glancing over old papers I am surprised to find so many tributes to my father's powers of entertainment. It would seem that in his day his qualities were deemed really phenomenal; and one of his admirers declared: "If John Keese should quit the auctioneer business, I should die of *ennui*. It would be a public calamity. He always looks to me like the ghost of Sheridan, grown sick of Parliament, and just emigrated and set up in the book-auction business in New York as a sort of practical joke on himself." It was then a perfectly natural question for Mr. James Linen to ask:

"Who lives in old Gotham in comfort and ease,
And knows not the wit and wag, Auctioneer Keese?"

And Mr. James T. Fields, the accomplished man of letters, then of the firm of Ticknor & Fields, in his rapidly penned verses after one of the Trade sales, pleasantly sang:

"But all were gay, and every one
Before the feast agrees,
That when he wants for food or fun
He'll shake a bunch of *Keese*."

Mr. Duyckinck truly says that "an auctioneer is bound to hold his own against all interlocutors. * * * It is his business to control the audiences and their purses. To do this he must keep his company in good humor, and least of all suffer any intellectual discomfiture. Keese never lost this superiority."

But let us get into the Auction Room. A narrative of the Battle of Waterloo is put up. "How much for it?" Twenty-five cents was bid. "There was no quarter at the Battle of Waterloo, my dear sir." I believe it was the late Mr. Gowans, who, when the auctioneer held in his hand *Some Account of the Centaurs*, declared there couldn't be a history of what never existed, and wanted an instance of a Centaur; whereupon the doubter was referred to the Biblical record of the head of John the Baptist coming in on a charger.

A witticism sometimes might be beyond the ken of a portion of his audience, as when he spoke of Cadmus as the "first post-boy," because



"he carried letters from Phoenecia to Greece;" but when he knocked down Dagley's Death's Doings for seventy-five cents to "a decayed apothecary," with the consolatory comment of "smallest *fevers* gratefully received," there was no lack of comprehension. Selling a black letter volume "concerning the apparel of ministers," he supposed it referred probably to their "surplus ornaments;" and he assured his audience that the Poems of the Rev. Mr. Logan were the Banks and Braes of Bonnie Doon—at all events the brays.

An illustration of his readiness was when a parcel of fancy envelopes was passed up, to be sold in one lot. "How many are there?" was shouted from various parts of the room. "O, I don't know; too many to number. How much for the lot?" At last they were knocked down. "What name?" "Cowper!" "It shall be Cowper's Task to count them," instantly exclaimed the auctioneer.

A joke much relished by the book-binding fraternity was his likening a ledger to Austria, because it was backed and cornered by Russia; and when it was knocked down to a Mr. Owen Phalen, he paused at the name and said reflectively: "Don't know about selling to a man that's always Owen and Phalen."

At one of the sales of furniture a table of curious design was sold to a bidder who left it to be called for. Some time elapsed, when a friend happening in admired the table, and wished to buy it at private sale. My father told him it was sold to a party who thus far had proved himself the most un-com-for-table-man he ever knew.

I remember when a lot of Wade & Butcher's Sheffield razors was included in the catalogue, the auctioneer said there was no limit to their sanguinary possibilities—for the purchaser "might wade in blood and butcher all his friends." "Never mind, you'll have one volume less to read," he said to a bidder who found his set of books short; and when another wanted to know where the outside of his copy of Lamb was, the auctioneer conjectured that "somebody had fleeced it," adding consolingly, "but you can recover it, you know." A back-gammon board was put up, "to be sold on the square, and as perfect as any copy of Milton, which comparison necessitated the explanation that there was a pair o' dice lost; and "Three Eras of a Woman's Life" elicited the running comment of "Wonderful woman—only three errors. How much—thirty cents—only ten cents apiece—not very expensive errors after all."

Hallam's Middle Ages, "intended for gentlemen in the prime of life," and a copy of the Court Guide, "a free translation of Ovid,"

were severally knocked down, the last to a bidder whom the auctioneer unhesitatingly announced as Mr. Tupman, the relevancy of which name all readers of *Pickwick* will perceive.

I have alluded to Mr. Gowans. He was an Irishman, and his native wit made him formidable. His mission to the auction room was apparently to pursue the auctioneer, and very appropriately, therefore, he bought under the name of *Chase*. My father was once selling prayer books, and Gowans, sitting somewhat back in the company, wishing to create a diversion, as was his wont, interrupted the rapid vocalization with: "Are they in English?" As quick as gunpowder the auctioneer replied: "Of course they are. *Do you suppose a man is going to pray in Irish?*"

The enthusiasm of an Irishman was so aroused one evening that it could only find expression in the determination to vote for the auctioneer for alderman—and "Be gorra, name your ward." The episode was laughingly closed by my father's explanation that he belonged to no ward then, but when he was a boy he belonged to them all. The mystery shrouding this statement was dissolved by the modest hint that when he was a boy he was one of the Master Keys.

A portion of the library of Charles Lamb at one time came under my father's hammer. I can fancy that he must have revelled in the suggestions born of that hallowed treasure. Would that hand and memory had preserved a record of what must have been an occasion of more than ordinary interest. Possibly some reader of this may supply what I have altogether missed. And with this tinge of regret I close my imperfect sketch.

The Autumn Trade Sale is just over, and old memories came o'er me as day by day I read its course as traced in the newspapers. Many familiar names in the book trade were there; many new houses founded on old ones were represented; many passing to successors still retained the old firm name. One name that of old was so potent, one voice that rang so clearly, one glance alert to detect the slightest nod, one brain forever busy, was missing—had long been missing—from the muster-roll. But I love to think that perhaps a few hearts went back into the past, and there lingered a moment in remembering John Keese, the Auctioneer.

WILLIAM L. KEESE



NARRATIVE BY
CAPTAIN JOHN STUART
OF GENERAL ANDREW LEWIS' EXPEDITION
AGAINST THE INDIANS IN THE
YEAR 1774, AND OF THE BATTLE
OF POINT PLEASANT,
VIRGINIA

II

He, [Andrew Lewis,] was appointed first Captain under General Washington, together with Captain Peter Hogg in the year 1752, when General Washington was appointed Major by Governour Gooch to go on the Frontiers and erect a Garrison at the little Meadows, on the waters of the Monongahela, to prevent the Encroachment of the French, who were extending their claims from Fort Pitt (then Fort Duquesne) up the Monongahela River and its Waters. During the Time they were employed about that Business they sustained an Attack made on them by a party of French and Indians sent out from Fort Duquesne for that purpose, on account of an unfortunate affair that took place and happened soon after they had arrived at the little Meadows.

A French Gentlemen of the name of Jumenvail with a party was making some Surveys, not far from Maj. Washington's Encampment. Maj. Washington ordered Capt. Hogg to go and examine him, as to his Authority for making such Encroachments on the British Claims and Settlements. Capt. Hogg discovered where Jumenvail was camped, which he approached in the Night Time, and contrary to the orders or the Instructions of Maj. Washington, he fired on Jumenvail and killed him. The French, in order to retaliate, sent out a party to attack

Washington, but they were discovered when within one Mile of the Encampment, and soon appeared before it and commenced firing as they approached. Our people had made some Intrenchments from which they returned the Fire.

In this Engagement Gen'l Lewis received two Wounds. The French at length cried out for parley, and the firing ceased on both sides and the parties intermixed indiscriminately, and articles of Capitulation were drawn up by the French which Maj. Washington signed and acknowledged. He was then a very young man, and unacquainted with the French Language, and it seems in that instrument he acknowledged the assassination of Jumenvail. This was sent to Europe and published. And Hostilities soon after commenced between the two rival Nations viz: England and France; the chief Foundation of the quarrel being founded on this Transaction in America. I have seen Bissit's Account of the beginning of the War of 1755, in his History of England. It differs somewhat from this; but I have narrated the Facts as I heard them from Gen'l Lewis, and have no Doubt of their Correctness.

The French had brought with their party a Number of Indians, which gave them a Superiority of Numbers. An Accident took place during the Intermixture of the parties which might have proved fatal to Washington and his party had not Gen'l Lewis, with great presence of mind, prevented it. An Irish Soldier, in the Crowd, seeing an Indian near him, swore in the well known language of his Countrymen, "I will send the yellow Son of a B—h to Hell!" Gen'l Lewis, who was limping near him with

his wounded leg, struck the muzzle of his Gun into the Air and saved the Indian's life as well as the lives of all the party, had the Irishman's Intentions taken Effect.

When the War of 1755 began Gen'l Washington was appointed the Commander of the first Regiment ever raised in Virginia, and Gen'l Lewis, Major, who was afterwards on a command with the British Maj. Grant, under Gen'l Forbis, to reconnoitre the Vicinity of the French Fort (now Fort Pitt), against which Gen'l Forbis's Army was then on their March to endeavor to demolish it when Grant and Lewis drew near the Garrison undiscovered. Maj. Grant began to apprehend he could surprise the Garrison and disappoint his General of the honour of the Conquest. Against this unjustifiable Attempt Gen'l Lewis in vain remonstrated, and represented that the Garrison was re-enforced by a Number of Indians, then at the place in great Force, and the Difficulty of reaching the Garrison privately and undiscovered.

Grant, however, was unwilling to share so great an Honour with any other, and ordered Maj. Lewis to remain with their Baggage with the provincial Troops which he commanded, whilst he, with his Scotch Highlanders, advanced to the Attack, which he began early in the Morning by beating Drums upon Grant's Hill (as it is still called). The Indians were lying on the opposite side of the River from the Garrison, when this Alarm began, in Number about one Thousand five hundred. The sound of War so sudden and so near them soon roused them to arms, and Grant and his

Highlanders were soon surrounded, then the work of death went on rapidly and in a manner quite novel to Scotch Highlanders, who, in all their European Wars, had never seen Men's Heads skinned before. Gen'l Lewis soon perceived by the retreating fire that Maj. Grant was overmatched and in a bad situation. He then advanced with his Corps of two hundred provincials, and falling on the Rear of the Indians, made a way for Maj. Grant and some of his men to escape, but Lewis's party was also defeated and himself taken prisoner. The Indians desired to put him to Death, but the French with Difficulty saved him; however, the Indians stripped him of all his Clothes but his shirt before he was taken into the Fort. An elderly Indian seized the shirt and insisted to have it, but he resisted with the Tomahawk drawn over his Head until a French officer by signs requested him to deliver the Shirt, and then took him into his Room and gave him a complete Dress to put on. When he was advancing to the Relief of Grant he met a Scotch Highlander under Speedy Flight, and inquiring of him how the Battle was going he said "they were ah beaten aund I hauv seen Donald McDonald aup till his Hunkers in Mud, weth ah the skeen af his heed." Grant had made his Escape from the Field of Battle with a party of seven or eight Soldiers and wandered all night in the Woods. In the Morning they returned to the Garrison and surrendered themselves prisoners to the Indians, who carried them into the Fort, and Maj. Grant's life was preserved by the French, but the Indians brought the Soldiers to the Room's Door where Maj. Lewis was,

and his Benefactor refused to let them come in, and they Killed all the Men at the Door.

The French expecting that the Main Army, under Gen'l Forbis, would soon come on, and believing that they would not be able to defend the Attack, blew up the Fort and retreated to Quebeck with the prisoners, where they were confined until a cartel took place, when they were exchanged.

This is the same Col. Grant who figured in the British Parliament in the year 1775, when Mr. Thurlow, the Attorney General, affirmed that the Americans were Traitors and Rebels, but did not prove his position from a Comparison of their Conduct with the Treason Laws, and Col. Grant in particular told the House, saying, "I have often acted in the same Service with the Americans, I know them well, and from that knowledge would venture to predict that they would never dare to face an English Army; for, being destitute of every Thing necessary to constitute good Soldiers by their laziness, uncleanness, or rascal Defects of Constitution, they were incapable of going through the Service of a Campaign, and would melt away with sickness before they would face an Enemy, so that a very slight force would be more than sufficient for their complete Reduction." But during the Time of their Captivity this philosophical Hero was detected in an Act of the most base Duplicity in Quebeck. As the letters of the English officers were inspected before they were sent off, a French officer discovered that in Maj. Grant's Communication to Gen'l Forbis he had represented the whole Disgrace of his

Defeat to the misconduct of Maj. Lewis and his provincial Troops. The officer immediately carried the letter to Maj. Lewis and shewed it to him. Lewis, indignant at such a scandalous and unjust representation, accused Grant of his Duplicity in the Presence of the French officers and challenged him, but Grant prudently declined the Combat, after receiving the grossest Insults by spitting in his face and degrading language.

After the French had blown up the Fort and departed for Quebeck with the prisoners, in going up the Alleghany River, it was very cold, and Grant lay shivering in the Boat cursing the Americans and their Country, threatening if ever he returned to England he would let his Majesty know their insignificance and the Impropriety of the Trouble and Expense of the Nation in endeavoring to protect such a vile Country and People. For this provoking language Gen'l Lewis did chide him severely.

Gen'l Lewis was in person upwards of six Feet high, of uncommon Strength and Agility, and his Form of the most exact Symmetry that I ever beheld in Human Being. He had a stern and invincible Countenance, and he was of a distant and reserved Deportment, which rendered his Presence more awful than engaging. He was a Commissioner with Dr. Thomas Walker to hold a treaty on Behalf of the Colony of Virginia with the Six Nations of Indians together with the Commissioners from Pennsylvania, New York and other eastern provinces, held at Fort Stanwix, in the province of New York, in the year 1768. It was there remarked by the Governour of New York that the Earth seemed to tremble

under him as he walked along. His independent spirit despised sycophant means of gaining Popularity, which never rendered more than his superior merits extorted. Such a Character was not calculated to gain much Applause by commanding an Army of Volunteers, without Discipline, Experience or Gratitude. Many took umbrage because they were compelled to do their Duty, and others thought the Duties of a common Soldier were beneath the Dignity of a Volunteer. Every one found some imaginary complaint.

When Congress determined to be independent and appointed General officers to command our Armies to prosecute the War for Independence and defending our Liberty, they nominated Genl. Washington to the chief Command; but his great modesty recommended Genl Lewis in Preference to himself. But one of his colleagues from Virginia observed that Genl. Lewis's Popularity had suffered much from the Declamation of some of his Troops on the late Expedition against the Indians, and it would be impolitick at that Conjunction to make the Appointment. He was, however, appointed afterwards as the first Brigadier-General, and took the Command, at Norfolk, of the Virginia Troops. When Lord Dunmore made his escape from Williamsburg on Board a British Ship of War lying off Norfolk, the Vessel drew up and commenced a Fire on the Town, but Genl. Lewis, from a Battery, compelled his Lordship to depart, and I believe he never afterwards set his foot on American Ground.

This ended the military Career of Genl. Lewis, Congress having appointed

Genl. Stephens and some others Major-Generals, gave him some offense, as he had been their superior in former services and having accepted his office of Brigadier at the solicitation of Genl. Washington, he wrote the General his intention to resign. Genl. Washington in Reply pressed him to hold his Command and assured him that Justice would be done him as it respected his Rank. But he was grown old, and his Ardour for Military Fame abated, and being seized with a Fever he resigned his Command to return Home in the year 1780, and died on his Way, in Bedford County, about forty miles from his own house, on Roanoke in Botetourt County, lamented by all who were intimately acquainted with his many meritorious services and superior qualities.

It is said there is a Book now extant in this Country under the Title of Smith's Travels in America (which was written in England), wherein the Author asserts that he was on the Expedition in the year 1774, and that he joined the Augusta Troops in Staunton. He gives a particular Description of Mr. Sampson Mathew's Tavern and Family, who kept the most noted publick House in Town, and of the March of our Army from Camp Union to Point Pleasant. He also gives an Account of the Battle and of Col. Lewis being Killed in the Engagement. If such a person were along I am persuaded he was incog. and a Creature of Lord Dunmore, for I was particularly acquainted with all the officers of the Augusta Troops, and the chief of all the Men, but I knew of no such a Man as Smith, and I am the more confirmed in this opinion from what Genl. Lewis told

me in the year 1779, that he was informed that on the Evening of the 10th of October, the Day of our Battle, that Dunmore and the noted Dr. Connelly, of Tory Memory, with some other officers were taking a walk, when Dunmore observed to the Gentlemen that he expected by that Time that Col. Lewis had hot work. And this corresponds with my suspicions of the Language of McCullough, who promised us "Grinders," for had not McCullough seen the Indians coming down the River on his Return the Evening before the Battle, they could not have known the Strength of our Army, or the Amount of our Troops so correctly as they certainly did; for during the Battle I heard one of the Enemy hollow out with abusive Terms in English, that they had eleven hundred Indians and two Thousand more coming. The same Boast was vociferated from the opposite side of the River, in hearing of many of our Officers and Men who occupied the Ohio Bank during the Battle, as the Number of eleven hundred was precisely our Number, and an Expectation entertained by some that Col. Christian would come on with two Thousand more. The Intelligence must have been communicated to the Indians by the Governour's Scouts, for there could have been no other Means of conveying such exact Information to them. Col. Christian had only about three hundred altogether, including the three Companies of Shelby, Russel and Harbert, when he arrived at our Camp.

Having finished the Intrenchments and put every Thing in Order for securing the wounded from Danger after the

Battle, we crossed the Ohio River on our March to the Shawnee Towns, taking our March by the way of the Salt Licks, and Capt. Arbuckle for our Guide, who was equally esteemed for a Soldier as a fine Woodsman. When we came to the Prairie on Killikenny Creek, we saw the Smoke of a Small Indian Town, which they deserted and set on Fire at our Approach. Here we met an Express from the Governour's Camp, who had arrived near the Nation and proposed Terms of peace with the Indians. Some of the Chiefs, with the Grenadier Squaw on the Return of the Indians after their Defeat, had repaired to the Governour's Army to solicit Terms of peace for the Indians (which I apprehend they had no Doubt of obtaining), and the Governour promised them the War should be no further prosecuted, and that he would stop the March of Lewis's Army before any more Hostilities should be committed upon them. However, the Indians, finding we were rapidly approaching, began to suspect that the Governour did not possess the power of stopping us, whom they designated by the Name of Big Knife Men. Therefore, the Governour, with the White Fish Warriour, set off and met us at Killikenny Creek, and there Col. Lewis received orders to return with his Army, as he had proposed Terms of peace with the Indians, which he assured should be accomplished. His Lordship requested Col. Lewis to introduce him to his officers, and we were according ranged in Rank and had the Honour of an Introduction to the Governour and Commander-in-Chief, who politely thanked us for services

rendered on so monstrous an Occasion, and assured us of his high Esteem and Respect for our Conduct.

On the Governour's consulting Col. Lewis it was deemed necessary that a Garrison should be established at Point Pleasant to prevent and intercept the Indians from crossing the Ohio to our Side, as well as to prevent any Whites from crossing over to the side of the Indians, and by such means preserve a future Peace, according to the Condition of the Treaty then to be made by the Governour with the Indians. And Capt. Arbuckle was appointed Commander of the Garrison, with Instructions to enlist one hundred Men for the Term of one year from the Date of their Enlistment, and proceeded to erect a Fort, which was executed on the following Summer.

The next Spring the Revolutionary War commenced between the British Army under Genl. Gage, at Boston, and the Citizens of the State of Massachusetts, at Lexington. And Virginia soon after did assume an Independent Form of Government, and began to levy Troops for the common Defense of the Country, when another Company was ordered to the Aid of Capt. Arbuckle's Garrison, to be commanded by Capt. William McKee. But the Troubles of the War accumulated so fast that it was found too inconvenient and expensive to keep a Garrison at so great a Distance from any Inhabitants, as well as a Demand for all the Troops that could be raised to oppose British Force. Capt. Arbuckle was ordered to vacate the Station and to join Genl. Washington's Army, but this he was not willing to do, having engaged, as he alleged, for a different

service. A Number of his Men, however, marched and joined the Main Army until the Time of their Enlistment expired. In the year 1777 the Indians, being urged by British Agents, became very Troublesome to frontier Settlements, manifesting much Appearance of Hostilities, when the Cornstalk Warriour, with the young Redhawk, paid a visit to the Garrison at Point Pleasant. He made no Secret of the Disposition of the Indians, declaring that on his own Part he was opposed to joining in the War on the side of the British, but that all the Rest of the Nation but himself and his own Tribe were determined to engage in the War, and that of Course, he and his Tribe would have to run with the Stream (as he expressed it); on which Capt. Arbuckle thought proper to detain him, the young Redhawk and another Fellow, as Hostages, to prevent the Nation from joining the British.

In the Course of that Summer our Government had ordered an Army to be raised of Volunteers, to serve under the Command of Genl. Hand, who was to have collected a Number of Troops at Fort Pitt; with them to descend the River to Point Pleasant, there to meet a Re-enforcement of Volunteers expected to be raised in Augusta and Botetourt Counties, and then to proceed to the Shawnee Towns and chastise the Indians, so as to compel them to a neutrality; but Hand did not succeed in the Collection of Troops at Fort Pitt, and but three or four Companies only were raised in Botetourt and Augusta, and which were under the Command of Col. George Shillieran, who had ordered me to use my Endeavors to raise all the Volunteers I

could get in Greenbrier for that service. The people had begun to see the Difficulties attendant on a State of War and long Campaigns carried through Wildernesses, and but few were willing to engage in such Service, but the Settlements we covered being less exposed to the Depredations of the Indians, had shown a willingness to aid in the proposed plan to chastise the Indians, and had raised three Companies. I was very anxious of doing all I could to promote the business and aid the Service, used the utmost Endeavors by proposing to the Militia Officers to Volunteer ourselves, which would be an Encouragement to others, and by such Means, raise all the Men that could be got. The chief of the officers in Greenbrier agreed to the Proposal; and we cast lots who should command the Company. The lot fell on Andrew Hamilton for Captain, and William Renick for Lieutenant, and we collected in all about forty Men and joined Col. Shilleran's party on their Way to Point Pleasant. When we arrived at Point Pleasant, there was no Account of Genl. Hand, or his Army, and little or no provisions made to support our Troops, except what we had taken with us down the Kanahway, and we found that the Garrison was unable to spare us any supplies, being nearly exhausted, when we got there, what had been provided for themselves; but we concluded to remain there as long as we could to wait the Arrival of Genl. Hand or some Account from him. But during the Time of our Stay, two young men of the name of Hamilton and Gilmore went over the Kanahway one day to hunt for Deer. On their

Return to the Camp, some Indians had concealed themselves on the Bank amongst the Weeds to view our Encampment, and as Gilmore came along past them, they fired on him, and Killed him on the Bank. Capt. Arbuckle and I were standing upon the opposite Bank, when the Gun fired, and whilst we were wondering who could be shooting contrary to orders, or what they were doing over the River, we saw Hamilton run down the Bank and called out saying: "Gilmore is Killed."

Gilmore was one of the Company of Capt. John Hall, of that part of the Country (now Rockbridge County), and a Relation of Gilmore, whose Family and Friends were chiefly cut off by the Indians in the year 1763, when Greenbrier was cut off. Hall's men instantly jumped into a Canoe, and went to the Relief of Hamilton, who was standing in momentary expectation of being put to death; and they brought the Corpse of Gilmore down the Bank covered with Blood and Scalped. They put him into a Canoe, and as they were passing the River, I observed to Capt. Arbuckle, that the people would be for Killing the Hostages, as soon as the Canoe would land, but he supposed they would not offer to commit so great an Outrage on the innocent, who were in no wise accessory to the murder of Gilmore; but the Canoe had scarcely touched the Shore until the Cry was raised: "Let us Kill the Indians in the Fort," and every Man, with his Gun in his Hand, came up the Bank as pale as death with Rage. Capt. Hall was at their Head and leader. Arbuckle and I met them and endeavoured to dissuade them from so un-

justifiable an Action, but they cocked their Guns, and threatened us with instant Death if we did not desist. They rushed by us into the Fort and put the Indians to death. On the preceding Day the Cornstalk's Son Elinipsico had come from the Nation to see his Father, and to Know if he were Well, or yet alive. When he came to the River opposite the Fort, he halloed over. His Father was at that Instant in the Act of delineating a Map of the Country and Waters between the Shawnee Towns and the Mississippi, at our Request, with Chalk upon the Floor. He immediately recognized the Voice of his Son, got up, and went out and answered, and the young Fellow crossed over and they embraced each other in the most tender and affectionate Manner. The Interpreter's Wife, who had been a prisoner with the Indians and had recently left them, on hearing the uproar the next Day, and hearing the men threatening that they would Kill the Indians, for whom she retained much Affection, ran to their Cabin and informed them that the people were just coming to Kill them, and that because the Indians that Killed Gilmore had come with Elinipsico the Day before. He utterly denied it, declared that he Knew Nothing of them, and trembled exceedingly. His Father encouraged him not to be afraid, for the Great Man above had sent him there to be Killed, and die with him. As the men advanced to the Door, the Cornstalk rose up and met them. They fired upon him, and seven or eight Bullets passed through him. Thus fell the great Cornstalk Warrior whose Name was bestowed upon him by the Consent of the

Nation as their great Strength and Support. His Son was shot dead as he sat upon a Stool. The Redhawk made an Attempt to go up the Chimney, but was shot down. The other Indian was Shamefully mangled, and I grieved to see him long in the Agonies of Death.

The Cornstalk from personal Appearance and many brave Acts, was undoubtedly a Hero. Had he been spared to live, I believe he would have been friendly to the American Cause. Nothing could have induced him to make the visit to the Garrison, at the critical Time he did, but to communicate the Temper and Disposition of the Indians, and their Design of taking part with the British. On the Day that he was Killed, we had held a Council, in which he was. His Countenance was dejected, and he made a Speech, all of which seemed to indicate an honest and manly Disposition. He acknowledged that he expected he and his party would have to run with the Stream, for all the Indians on the Lakes, and Northwardly, were joining the British. When he returned to the Shawnee Town, after the Battle at the Point, he called a Council of the Nation, to consult what was to be done, and upbraided the Indians, for their Folly in not suffering him to make Peace, on the Evening before the Battle, saying: What will you do now? The big Knife^a is coming on us, and we shall all be Killed. Now you must fight, or we are undone." But no one made answer. He then said: 'Let us Kill all our Women and Children and go and fight till we die.' But none would answer. At length, he arose and struck his Tomahawk in the Post, in the Centre of the Town House, and said,

"I'll go and make Peace!" and then the Warriours all grunted out "ough! ough! ough!" And Runners were instantly despatched to the Governour's Army to solicit a peace, and the Interposition of the Governour on their Behalf. When he made his Speech in the Council with us, he seemed impressed with an awful prediction of his approaching Fate. For he repeatedly said, "when I was a young Man and went to War, I thought that might be the last time, and I would return no more;" "Now," said he, "I am here amongst you, you may Kill me if you please; I can die but once, and it is all one to me now or another Time!" And this Declaration concluded every sentence of his Speech. He was Killed about one hour after our Council broke up.

A few days after this Catastrophe, Genl. Hand arrived, but had no Troops, and we were discharged, and returned Home a short Time before Christmas.

Not long after we left the Garrison, a small party of Indians appeared near the Fort; and Lieut. Moore was ordered with a party to pursue them. Their Design was to retaliate the Murder of the Cornstalk.

Moore had not proceeded over one quarter of a Mile, until he fell into an Ambuscade and was Killed with several of his Men.

The next year, 1778, in the Month of May, a small party of Indians again appeared near the Garrison, and showed themselves, but soon decamped apparently in great Terror; but the Garrison was aware of their Seduction, and no one was ordered to pursue them. Finding their Scheme was not likely to suc-

ceed, all their whole Army rose up at once, and showed themselves, extending across from the Bank of the Ohio, to the Bank of the Kanahway, and commenced a Fire on the Garrison, which lasted several Hours, but without Effect. At Length, one of them had the Presumption to advance so near the Fort, as to request the Favour of being permitted to come in, to which Capt. McKee granted his Assent, and the Stranger very composedly walked in. Capt. Arbuckle was then absent on a Visit to Greenbrier to see his Family. During the Time the strange Gentleman was in the Fort, a Gun went off in the Fort by an Accident. The Indians without raised a hideous Yell, supposing the Fellow was Killed in the Fort; but he instantly jumped up in one of the Bastions and showed himself, giving the sign that all was well, and reconciled his Friends. Finding they could make no Impression on the Garrison, they concluded to come on to Greenbrier, and collecting all the Cattle about the Garrison for provision on their March, started up the Kanahway in great military parade to finish their Campaign, and take Vengeance of us for the Death of the Cornstalk; but Capt. McKee perceiving their Design by the Route they were pursuing, despatched Philip Hammon and John Pryor, after them with Orders, if possible, to pass them undiscovered, and give the inhabitants notice of their Approach. This hazardous Service they performed with great Fidelity. The Indians had two Days start of them; but they pursued with such Speed and Diligence, that they overtook and passed the Indians, at the House of William

McClurg, at the Meadows about twenty Miles from Lewisburg. It was in the Evening of the Day and McClurg's Family had previously removed further in amongst the Inhabitants for Safety, as they were of the Frontier-House, on the way to Point Pleasant. At this place Hammon and Pryor had a full View of them, as they walked upon a Piece of high Ground between the House and the Barn, and appeared to be viewing the great Meadows, lying in Sight of the House. Hammon and Pryor were in the Meadows concealed in the Weeds, and had a full View of their whole Party undiscovered by them, and calculated the Number of the Indians, by their Estimation at about two hundred Warriours. They, having passed the Indians at the Meadows, came on with great speed to Col. Andrew Donally's and gave the Alarm of the Approach of the Indians. Col. Donally lost no Time in collecting all his nearest Neighbours that Night, and sent a Servant to inform me.

Before Day, about twenty Men, including Hammon and Pryor, were collected at Donally's, and they had the Advantage of a Stockade Fort around and adjoining the House. There was a Number of Women and Children, making in all about sixty persons in the House. On the next day they kept a good Lookout in momentary Expectation of the Enemy. Col. Samuel Lewis was at my House, when the Messenger came with the Intelligence, and we lost no Time to alarm the People, and collect as many Men for Defence as we could get at Camp-Union all the next Day; but all were busy, some flying with their Families to the inward Settlements, and others securing their property, so

that in the Course of the next Day, we had not collected near one hundred Men. On the following Day, we sent out two Scouts to Donally's, very early in the Morning, who soon returned with Intelligence that the Fort was attacked. The Scouts had got within about one Mile, and heard the Guns firing briskly. We determined to give all the Aid to the besieged that we could and every man who was willing to go, was paraded. They amounted to sixty-eight in all, including Col. Lewis, Capt. Arbuckle, and myself. We drew near Donally's House about 2 o'clock P. M. but hearing no firing. For the sake of Expedition we had left the Road for a nearer Way, which led to the back side of the House, and escaped falling into an Ambuscade, placed on the Road, some Distance from the House, which might have been fatal to us, being greatly inferior to the Enemy in Point of Numbers. We soon discovered Indians, behind Trees, in a Rye-Field, looking earnestly at the House. Charles Gatliff and myself fired upon them, when we saw others running into the Rye near where the others stood. We all ran directly to the Fort. The People, on hearing the Guns on the Back side of the House, supposed it was another party of Indians, and all were at the Port holes ready to fire on us, but some discovering that we were their Friends, opened the Gates, and we all got in safe. One man only was shot through the Clothes. When we got to the Fort, we found there were only four Men Killed. Two of them were coming to the Fort, fell into the midst of the Indians, and were Killed. A Servant of Donally's was Killed early in the Morning, on the first Attack, and one man

was Killed in the Bastion, in the Fort. The Indians had commenced their Attack about Day-Light in the Morning, while the people were in Bed, all but Philip Hammon and an old Negro. The House composed one Part of the Fort in Front, and was double, the Kitchen making one End of the House, and there Hammon and the Negro were. A Hogshead of Water was placed against the Door, and the Enemy had laid down their Guns at a Stable about fifty yards from the House, and made their Attack with Tomahawks and War-Clubs. Hammon and the Negro held the Door until they were splitting it with their Tomahawks. They suddenly let the Door open, and Hammon Killed the Indian on the Threshold, who was in the Act of Splitting the door. The negro had a Musket charged with Swan shots, and was jumping about on the Floor, asking Hammon where he should shoot. Hammon bid him fire away amongst them, for the yard was crowded thick as they could stand. Dick fired away and I believe with good effect, for a War Club lay in the yard and a Swan shot in it. He is now upwards of eighty years old; has long been abandoned by his Master, as well as his Wife, who is as old as himself; but they have made out to support their miserable Existence many years past, with their own Endeavours. And this is the Negro, to whom, our late Assembly, at their last Session, refused to grant a small Pension, to support the short Remains of his Wretched Days, which must soon end, though his humble Petition was supported by the Certificates of the most respectable Men in the County, wherein his meritorious service was done, on the trying Occasion,

which saved the lives of many Citizens then in the House.

The firing of Hammon and Dick awakened the People in the other End of the House and up-stairs where the chief of the men were lying. They soon fired out of the Windows on the Indians so briskly, that when we got in the Fort, seventeen of the Enemy lay dead in the yard, one of whom was a boy about fifteen or sixteen years old. His Body was so torn with the Bullet, that a Man might have run his Arm through him, yet he lived almost all day; made a lamentable cry, and the Indians hallowed to him to go into the House. After dark a fellow drew near the Fort, and called out in English, and said, "I want to make peace." We invited him to consult on the Terms; but he declined our Civility. They departed that Night, after dragging eight of their slain out of the yard; and we never found afterwards where they had buried them. Neither did they ever afterwards visit Greenbrier more than twice, and then in very small parties, one of which Killed a Man and his Wife, of the name of Monday, and wounded Capt. Saml. McClung. The last Person Killed was Thomas Griffith, and his son was taken; but going down the Kanahway, they were pursued, and one of the Indians was Killed, and the Boy relieved.

Thus ended our Wars in Greenbrier, with the Indians, in the year 1780.

Narrated by John Stuart of
Greenbrier County, Virginia,
December, 1820.

¹ See history of England for 1775, page 527, vol. 12th.

² The Term used by them to designate our Army.

AN EXPLANATION OF THE DEVICES ON THE CONTINENTAL BILLS OF CREDIT, WITH CONJECTURES OF THEIR MEANING.

From the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, December, 1775

An emblematical device, when rightly formed is said to consist of two parts, a *body* and a *mind*, neither of which is complete or intelligible, without the aid of the other. The figure is called the *body*, the motto the *mind*. These that I am about to consider, appear formed on that rule, and seem to relate to the present struggles between the Colonies and the tyrant state, for liberty, property and safety on the one hand, for absolute power and plunder on the other.

On one denomination of the bills, there is a figure of a *harp*, with this motto, *Majora minoribus consonant*; literally, *The greater and smaller ones found together*. As the *harp* is an instrument composed of *great* and *small* strings, included in a *strong frame*, and is all so tuned as to agree in concord with each other, I conceive that the *frame* may be intended to represent our new government by a Continental Congress; and the strings of different lengths and substance, either the several colonies of different weight and force, or the various ranks of people in all of them, who are now united by that government in the most perfect *harmony*.

On another bill is impressed, a *wild boar of the forest*, rushing on the spear of the hunter; with this motto: *Aut mors, aut vita decora*; which may be translated—*Death or liberty*. The wild

boar is an animal of great strength and courage, armed with long and sharp tusks, which he well knows how to use in his defence. He is inoffensive while suffered to enjoy his freedom, but when roused and wounded by the hunter, often turns and makes him pay dearly for his injustice and temerity.

On another is drawn an *eagle* on the wing pouncing upon a *crane*, who turns upon his back, and receives the eagle on the point of his long bill, which pierces the eagle's breast; with this motto, *Exitus in dubio est*;—*The event is uncertain*. The eagle, I suppose, represents Great Britain, the crane America. This device offers an admonition to each of the contending parties, to the Crane not to depend too much upon the success of its *endeavours to avoid* the contest (by petition, negotiation, &c.), but prepare for using the means of defence God and nature hath given it; and to the eagle not to presume on its superior strength, since a weaker bird may wound it mortally.

Sunt dubii eventus, incertaque proelia martis :

Vincitur haud raro, qui prope victor erat.

On another bill we have a *thorny bush*, which a hand seems attempting to eradicate. The hand appears to bleed, as pricked by the spines. The motto is *Sustine vel Abstine*; which may be rendered, *Bear with me or let me alone*; or thus, *Either support or leave me*. The bush I suppose to mean *America*, and the bleeding hand *Brittain*. Would to God that bleeding were stopt, the wounds of that hand healed, and its future operations directed by wisdom and equity; so shall the hawthorn

flourish, and form an hedge around it, annoying with its thorns only its invading enemies.

Another has the figure of a *beaver* gnawing a large tree, with this motto, *Perseverando; by perserverance*. I apprehend the *great tree* may be intended to represent the enormous power Brittain has assumed over us, and endeavours to enforce by arms, of taxing us at pleasure, and binding us in all cases whatsoever, or the exorbitant profits she makes by monopolizing our commerce. Then the *beaver*, which is known to be able, by assiduous and steady working, to fell large trees, may signify *America*, which, by perseverance in her present measures, will probably reduce that power within proper bounds, and by establishing the most necessary manufactures among ourselves, abolish the British monopoly.

On another bill, we have the plant *acanibus* sprouting on all sides, under a weight placed upon it, with the motto, *Depressa Risurgit; Though oppressed it rises*. The ancients tell us, that the sight of such an accidental circumstance, gave the first hint to an architect in forming the beautiful capital of the Corinthian column. This, perhaps, was intended to encourage us, by representing that our present oppressions, will not destroy us, but that they may, by increasing our industry and forcing it into new courses, encrease the prosperity of our country, and establish that prosperity on the *base* of liberty, and the well proportioned *pillar* of property, elevated for a pleasing spectacle to all *connoisseurs*, who can *taste* and delight in the architecture of human happiness.

The figure of the *hand and flail* over *sheaves of wheat*, with the motto, *TRIBULATIO DITAT*—Threshing improves it: (which we find printed on another of the bills) may perhaps be intended to admonish us, that through at present we are under the *flail*, its blows how hard soever, will be rather advantageous than hurtful to us; for they will bring forth every *grain* of genius and merit in arts, manufactures, war and council, that are now concealed in the husk, and then the breadth of a breeze will be sufficient to separate us from all the chaff of toryism. *Tribulation* too, in our English sense of the word, improves the mind, it makes us humbler, and tends to make us wiser. And *threshing* in one of its senses, that of beating, often improves those that are threshed. Many an unwarlike nation, have been beaten into heroes by troublesome warlike neighbours; and the continuance of a war though it lessens the numbers of a people, often encreases its strenght by the encreased discipline and consequent courage of the number remaining. Thus England, after her civil war in which her people threshed one another, became more formidable to her neighbours. The public distress too that arises from war, by increasing frugality and industry, often gives habits that remain after the distress is over, and thereby naturally *enriches* those on whom it has enforced, those *enriching virtues*.

Another of the bills has for its device, a *storm* descending from a *black heavy cloud*, with the motto, *SERENABIT; It will clear up*. This seems designed to encourage the dejected, who may be too

sensible of present inconveniences, and fear their continuance. It reminds them agreeable to the adage, *that after a storm comes a calm*; or as Horace more elegantly has it—

Informes hyemes reducit, Jupiter : idem summovit.

Non si male nunc, et olim

Sic erit—Neque semper arcum tendit Apollo.

On another bill, there is stamped the representation of a *tempestuous sea*; a face with swollen cheeks, wrapt up in a black cloud, appearing to blow violently on the waters, *the waves high and all rolling one way*. The motto VI CONSTATÆ; which may be rendered, *raised by force*. From the remotest antiquity in figurative language, great waters have signified *the people*, and waves an insurrection. The people of themselves are supposed as naturally inclined to be still, as the waters to remain level and quiet. There rising here appears not to be from any internal cause, but from an external power, expressed by the head of *Æolus*, God of the winds (or *Boreas*, the north wind as usually the most violent) acting furiously upon them. The black cloud perhaps designs the British Parliament, and the waves the colonies. Their rolling all in one direction shews, that the very force used against them has produced their unanimity. On the reverse of this bill we have a smooth sea, the sails of ships on that sea hanging loose shew a perfect calm; the sun shining fully denotes a clear sky. The motto is, CESSANTE VENTO CONQUIESCEMUS: *The wind ceasing we shall be quiet*. Supposing my explanation of the preceeding device to be right, this will probably

import, that when those violent acts of power, which have aroused the colonies are repealed, they will return to their former tranquillity. Britain seems thus charged with being the sole cause of the present war, at the same time, that the only mode of putting an end to it, is thus plainly pointed out to her.

The last is a *wreath of laurel* on a *marble monument* or *altar*. The motto, SI RECTE FACIES, *If you act rightly*. This seems intended as an encouragement to a brave and steady conduct in defence of our liberties, as it promises, to crown with honour, by the laurel wreath, those who persevere to the end in *well-doing*; and with a long duration of that honour expressed by the *monument of marble*.

A learned friend of mine thinks this device more particularly addressed to the CONGRESS. He says, the ancients composed for their heroes, a wreath of laurel, oak and olive twigs interwoven; agreeable to the distich

E lauro, quercu, atque olea, duce, digna corona.

Prudentem, fortem, pacificumque, decet. Of *laurel*, as that tree was dedicated to *Apollo* and understood to signify *knowledge* and *prudence*; of *oak*, as pertaining to *Jupiter*, and expressing fortitude; of *olive*, as the tree of *Pallas* and as a symbol of *peace*. The whole to shew that those who are trusted to conduct the great affairs of mankind should act prudently and firmly, retaining, above all, a pacific disposition. This wreath was first upon an *altar*, to admonish the hero who was to be crowned with it, that true glory is founded on, and proceeds from *piety*. My friend therefore thinks the present device might intend a wreath of

that composite kind, though from the smallness of the work, the engraver could not mark distinctly the differing leaves: And he is rather confirmed in his opinion, that this is designed as an admonition to the Congress, when he considers the passage in *Horace*, from whence the motto is taken—

Rex eris, aiunt,

Si recte facies.

To which also *Ansonius* alludes,

Qui recte faciet, non qui dominatur, erit rex.

Not the King's Parliament who act wrong but the people's Congress, *if it acts right* shall govern America.

NOTES

UNIFORMS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.—To the August number of the Magazine I contributed an article under this title. The following adds to its completeness:

In 1775, the regiment of "Green Mountain Boys," on the Continental establishment, raised by the New York Provincial Congress, and of which Ethan Allen was Colonel, and Seth Warner, Lieutenant Colonel, was uniformed in coats of coarse green cloth, faced with red. (*Res. N. Y. Prov. Cong.*, 15 Aug., 1775.)

In the same year the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, in providing thirteen thousand coats for the Colony troops, resolved "that each coat should be faced with the same kind of cloth of which it was made; that the coats should be made in the common, plain way, without lappels, short and with small folds, and that they should all be buttoned with pewter buttons, and *that the*

coats for each regiment, respectively, should have buttons of the same number stamped on the face of them. (*Res. Mass. Prov. Cong.*, 23 April and 5 July, 1775.)

A pewter coat-button found on the battle field of "Freeman's Farm, or Stillwater," of 19th September, 1777, belonged to the uniform of the Eighth Regiment Massachusetts Continental Infantry, under Colonel Michael Jackson.

This regiment not only distinguished itself in that action, but in the succeeding one, "Saratoga," of 7th October, 1777, where, under its Lieut.-Colonel John Brooks, it stormed the Brunswick redoubt. Its subsequent gallant conduct at "Monmouth," and in other battles, brought it into special notice. The button has a slight border, and the following in raised letters and figures on the face:

M A S

VIII

R E G

The Ninth Regiment Mass. Continental Infantry, under Colonel James Wesson, was also in the same actions. A pewter button of this Regiment, found at Fort Constitution, Martelaer's Rock, opposite West Point, where the Ninth was subsequently stationed, is of the same design as the preceeding one, and of the size of the present U. S. Infantry button.

Two uniform buttons, respectively of the 3d Regiment Mass. Continental Infantry, Colonel John Greateon, and the 7th Regiment Mass. Continental Infantry, Lieut.-Colonel Commandant John Brooks, have been found on the old, 1782, camp ground of the American Army, near Newburgh, N. Y. They are

deposited at Washington's Headquarters in that City. These buttons are of pewter, of same size as last named, slightly oval, and have the word MAS. raised upon their faces, and underneath the Arabic numerals, 3 and 7, respectively, with an ornamentation of a vine or leaves below the figures.

A button from the uniform coat of Colonel and Bvt.-Brig.-Gen. Peter Ganessvoort, 3d Regiment N. Y. Continental Infantry (who was Brig.-Gen., U. S. A. in 1808), is in possession of Mr. Elisha R. Freeman, of "Bemis Heights." It is of gilt, flat, with an eagle slightly raised upon it, encircled by thirteen stars, and is of the same general design as the present uniform buttons of the General Officers, Professors of the Military Academy, and other officers of the staff of the American Army.

Another uniform coat button, of pewter, found by Mr. Freeman on the battle field of "Freeman's Farm," has a slight border, and the letters U. S. A. raised upon the face, the S overlapping both the U and A, thus forming a sort of monogram. This button most probably came from the coat of one of the regular New York Regiments of Infantry—either the 2d Regiment, under Colonel Philip Cortland, or the 4th Regiment, under Colonel Henry B. Livingston, each of which were with Major General Gates in the actions of 19th September and 7th October, 1777. It might, however, have come from the coat of one of the three regular Continental Regiments of Infantry from New Hampshire, who were also there, *viz.*: 1st N. H., Col Joseph Cilley; 2d N. H., Col. Nathan Hale; and 3d N. H., Col. Alexander Scammell.

Buttons of the same design, both large and small, for uniform coat and vest, have been found at Fort Constitution, and as the 3d Regiment N. Y. Continental Infantry was at one time in garrison there, it is presumable the buttons thus marked belonged to the New York troops.

The regular Corps of Artillery in the American Army, until after the second war with Great Britain, had for a design for the uniform buttons an unlimbered field piece raised upon the brass or gilt metal, with a small guidon flag, fastened by its staff to the right side of the trail of a De Gribeauval carriage about where the wheel guard plate is fixed on the modern trail. The rim of the button had a slight ornamentation. A button of this description was found in the main redoubt, Fort Constitution, which was long garrisoned by the Artillery.

The buttons of H. B. M. 20th and 31st Regiments Infantry, found on the Gates-Burgoyne battle fields, were also of pewter.

A uniform button, same material, of the 25th Foot, British Army, ("King's Own Borderers,") found by Prof. Robert W. Weir, U. S. Military Academy, in his garden at that Post, and presented to me, is of the same design as now worn by that regiment. It undoubtedly came from the coat of some enlisted man made prisoner of war and confined near the place where it was found.

On p. 482, in referring to the uniform of the Corps of Artillery, by a clerical error, the plume is incorrectly described as being black with red top, instead of being wholly red as stated on p. 473. The black plume with red top was

prescribed for the *Light Infantry* of the Army to distinguish it from the rest, and was not, during the Revolution, worn by any other arm of the service.— (*G. O. Army Headquarters, Tea Neck, 29 August, 1780.*)

ASA BIRD GARDNER.

MOUNT WASHINGTON AND ITS CAPTURE.—Mr. Edward F. De Lancey, who contributed the article under this title to our February number, has printed this additional material:

EDITOR.

Colonel Magaw's Orderly Book at Mount Washington.—The following is a copy of all the entries in the Orderly Book of Colonel Magaw, taken from the original by the kind permission of its present owner, the Rev. Dr. Joseph A. Murray, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania. It begins October 31st, 1776, but unfortunately stops November 10th, 1776, six days before the surrender. The order of Nov. 1st, increasing the picket guards very strongly for the 2d, may have been the proximate cause of Demont's departure. He probably did not want to run the risk of the increased numbers of pickets, and therefore went over to the enemy before they were actually placed on guard. E. F. DE L.

"Harlem Heights, October 25th, Parole Danvers, Co. Sign Newberry. Saturday, October 26th, Parole Lexington, Co. Sign Concord. Sunday, October 27th, Parole Roxbury, Co. Sign Cambridge. Monday, October 28th, Parole Litchfield, Co. Sign Norwich. Tuesday, October 29th, Parole Berks, Co. Sign Reading. Wednesday, October 30th, Parole Lancaster, Co. Sign York. Thursday, October 31st, Parole Cumber-

land, Co. Sign Carlisle. Friday, November 1st, Parole Pittsburgh, Co. Sign Bedford.

Coll. Magaw's Orders.

Ninety men for Picquet towards New York to-morrow, to be stationed as follows:—North River, 1 Sub. and 20; Holloway, 1 Sergt. and 10; Point of Rocks, 1 Sub. and 20; Works near Harlem River, 1 Sub. and 20; one Capt. at the Point of Rocks or North River; 1 Sub. and 20 on the East River between Headquarters and Fort Washington. Weekly returns to be given in before 12 o'clock at Noon, of the strength of the several Regiments and Detachments of our Troops now on this Island, that duty may be proportioned.

Capt. Long's Company to join Coll. Rawling's Battn; in the mean time Capt. Moulton of the Artillery, will appoint one of his Officers to act as Fort Major, who will prevent all doubtful or suspicious persons entering the Fort, and observe all such Orders as may be given by the Commanding Officer or Capt. Moulton.

Saturday, November 2d, Parole Amboy, Co. Sign Woodbridge. Sunday, November 3d, Parole Morris, Co. Sign Potter. Monday, November 4th, Parole Sabrook, Co. Sign Enfield.

No cattle or hogs to be suffered in the Fort. No passes or passages to be made on any pretence whatsoever through the Abbatis, Lieut. Coll. Wypert is to be at liberty to have any Tents or obstructions removed which may be in his way in strengthening the works; all Officers to give him assistance for that purpose. The officers of the several Guards to recommend the greatest alertness to

their Centinels at this time and place, the most dangerous, important, and honourable Post that, perhaps, Americans were ever placed in. The Liberty of this great and free Continent may in great measure depend on our vigilance and bravery. Mr. John Morgan is to act as Brigade Major, all passes signed by him to be considered as good.

The Adjutants or Sergt. Majors of the several battalions to attend at Headquarters at 3 o'clock every day for orders, which will be delivered by Mr. Morgan, he will also deliver them the Parole and Counter Sign in the Evening. Each Battalion and Detachment to make out exact returns of their strength on this Island, both fit for duty and sick, as orders are received to transmit the returns to the Commander in Chief, and the Congress, these returns to be made by 12 o'clock to-morrow.

Tuesday, November 5th, Parole Bristol, Co. Sign Frankfort.

Notwithstanding the frequent general orders against firing guns about the Camp, and wanton waste of Ammunition, This destructive practice still prevails, Officers are to be very vigilant and detect and confine offenders, and also to examine the Cartouch Boxes at least twice a week, and charge the men 6d pr Cartridge for such as cant be accounted for.

Wednesday, November 6th, Parole Dover, Co. Sign Darby.

The Officers of the Guards on the lines are to be very punctual in giving strict orders to the Centinels to permit no person who is not in this service to come within the lines, but such as come to continue, as they will not on any pre-

tence whatever be permitted to return, likewise no person to pass from here beyond the lines, as they will not on any account be suffered to return.

The Adjutants and Sergt. Majors of the several battalions and detachments are to be carefull that all their officers have the Reading the above orders.

Thursday, November 7th, Parole Washington, Co. Sign Lee. Friday, November 8th, Parole Magaw, Co. Sign Greene. Saturday, November 9th, Parole Cadwallader, Co Sign Beatty. Sunday, November 10th, Parole Brunswick, Co. Sign Burlington."

Colonel Robert Magaw was the eldest son of William Magaw, a Scotch-Irish lawyer who came, prior to 1752, from Strabane, in the north of Ireland, to Maryland, and thence to Carlisle in Pennsylvania. He was born in Ireland, was a lawyer, married while a prisoner, Marritie Van Brunt of Flatbush, and died 6th January, 1790, at Carlisle, leaving a son and daughter. His regiment, 5th Pennsylvania, numbered 25 officers and 312 men when surrendered.—*Ms. Magaw Papers. Letter of Dr. Murray.*

Dodon Henry, Baron von Knyphausen, Lieutenant-General, born in Alsace in 1730, son of Baron von Knyphausen, a Colonel under Marlborough, and was a descendant of the great Holland General of Gustavus Adolphus, whose name he bore. Tall, spare in person, very German in appearance, he was, though a strict officer, popular with both officers and men. He died in Berlin, in 1794, a full General in the Prussian service.—*Watson's Philadelphia Biographie Universelle.*

Parade of the Prisoners.—"The prisoners taken at Mount Washington were all paraded near the Jew's Burying Ground (now Chatham Square). They were said to be 2,500; no insults were offered to them when paraded, nor any public huzzaing or rejoicing as was usual on similar and less occasions."—*Ms. letter of John McKesson to Geo. Clinton.*

PROPER NAMES OF CALIFORNIA INDIANS.—The proper names of many Central California tribes originated in their geographical position in regard to other tribes, and hence include the names of cardinal points of the compass: North or East, South or West. The same holds good for many Indian tribes of other countries, especially for those which inhabit Oregon. The Modocs for instance, whose *priscan habitat* was the elevated valley of Lost River, south of the actual limits of the Klamath Reserve, are called in their own language, and in that of the kindred Klamath Lake Indians: Móadokni or Móatokni, which means "Southern dwellers," or "men living to the South." Another form of the name is Móadokish or, with the definite article appended: Moadokishash. In the Klamath-Modoc language moat, muat, means *South*; muatata, southwards; muatni, coming from the South; mua, muat, South wind; Moatok, Modoc Lake. Thus the Modocs were distinguished from their congeners, the Klamath-Lakes, or E-ukshikni, as the "Southerners" from the Lake or marsh dwellers. The *priscan* home of these latter were, from time immemorial, the shores of the upper Lake: e-ush, and

the environs of the Klamath marsh, which is situated some twenty miles northeast of the northern end of Upper Klamath Lake. The Klamath marsh is called é-ua, which is the generic term for "standing water, marsh, pond, lake," and through the suffixation of the definite article becomes e-ush. This term takes to itself the ending -kni which forms *nomina gentilitia* or tribal appellations, and appears also in Yamakni, the name given to all Oregonians, but more particularly to the Cayuses. It is derived from yamat, "North," which also forms the following derivatives: yamatata, northwards; yamash, north wind; yamatni, coming from the north; from the latter word Yamakni differs only in one letter, and its meaning is: belonging to the north, living in the north.

It is well known, that the Umpqua or Umpkua River, was formerly called so only in its upper course. We can trace the origin of this name to the Klamath language, which was spoken in the immediate neighborhood of Upper Umpqua Valley; for the Klamaths still call the Umpqua Indians: Ampkakni maklaks: "People of the little water." The name was formed from ampu, ambu, *water*, the diminutive terminal -aga, -aka, thus forming amp-kaka; to this is joined the terminal -kni, designating a tribe or nation.

For the Lahaptin tribe of the Warm Spring Indians in Des Chutes Valley the Klamaths possess two names ending in -kni: Waitankni and Lokuastkni. Of these the latter is more commonly used and is explained by the Klamath word lokuash "hot," meaning thermal waters of high temperature.

I conclude this brief notice by giving a parallel to Modokni in the Klamath-Modoc term for the Pit River nation: Moatuash. This also means "Southerners," though another terminal (of adjectives) is appended here to the basis *moat* "south."

ALBERT S. GATSCHET.

SURRENDER OF THE NEW JERSEY PROPRIETORS.—On the 17th of April, 1702, Sir *Thomas Lane*, and *William Dockwra*, Esq.; with the rest of the Proprietors of the Provinces of East and West New Jersey, in *America*, presented to her Majesty in Council, an Instrument under their Hands and Seals, by virtue of which they surrender'd their Rights to the Government of those Provinces; which Her Majesty was Graciously pleased to accept of, assuring 'em at the same time, that their Properties should be entirely preserv'd, and the Government of those Colonies brought under a due Regulation by Her Majesty's taking them under her Special Care and Protection.—*The State of Europe, April, 1702.*

PETERSFIELD.

OLD FASHIONED WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN OHIO.—The ladies of Chillicothe, Ohio, celebrated the 4th of July in a manner honorable to their patriotism. Among the toasts drank by them, we notice the following:—" *The Rights of Woman*, innocence, modesty, and prudence, may she rest satisfied with these, without investigating any others. *Modesty*, may the men respect it, that it may be held in estimation by the women. *Matrimony*, venerable for its origin and antiquity, and eminently useful in pre-

serving morality and true liberty. *The Married Ladies*, may the domestic virtues engage their attention. *The Young Ladies*, may those of this class, between fifteen and fifty, be shortly struck off from the list of single girls. *Old Bachelors*, may love seize and punish them for their sacrifice of time, with as much happiness as they are able to bear, in the lawful possession of what they are pleased to call 'angel's of this world.'"
—*The Weekly Visitor, August 11, 1804.*

W. K.

WASHINGTON AND HIS FUGITIVE SLAVE GIRL.—A very remarkable letter has been recently sold in London, written by Washington from Philadelphia, 28th November, 1796, to Joseph Whipple, concerning a slave girl who had absconded, and giving instructions as to her being sent back to Mrs. Washington. The following is an extract:

"However well disposed I might be to a gradual abolition, or even to an entire emancipation of that description of people (if the latter was in itself practicable) at this moment, it would neither be politic nor just to reward unfaithfulness with a premature preference, and thereby discontent beforehand the minds of all her fellow servants, who, by their steady attachment, are far more deserving than herself of favor."

This interesting document, which fills three full pages quarto, was priced at ten guineas, and purchased by an American collector; not the only one who tried to secure it.

PLUS.

GENERAL FRASER'S WIDOW.—John Charles Schrieber was plaintiff in a cause

tried July 4, 1780, before Lord Mansfield. Mrs. Fraser, widow of that experienced and gallant officer Gen. Fraser, who was killed in the action at Bræmus Heights on Hudson's river, October 7, 1777, was the defendant. Mr. Schrieber brought his action for damages on breach of a promise of marriage. The principal evidence was his son, he proved Mrs. Fraser's having acknowledged to him her consent to marry his father. A man servant proved her having hired him to go with her to Germany, in case the marriage took place. Mr. Christie proved Mr. Schrieber's purchasing a house at 4,100*l.* and selling it again on the marriage not taking place at 3,600*l.* He also bought four horses at 140 guineas, and sold them at 74 guineas; and two carriages at 200*l.* and a taylor proved making a suit of livery on account of the expected marriage.

The Solicitor-General argued for the defendant, that she had no objection to the plaintiff, who was a very wealthy merchant, but that in the course of courtship, she began to apprehend that Mr. Schrieber's temper, and her own, perhaps none of the best, might render them both unhappy, for which reason, she thought it best to retract though to her own loss, as his fortune was far superior to hers. *Her late husband, the General, had also cautioned her in a dream against the marriage.* That the plaintiff had not proved the defendant a woman of fortune; therefore it was much below him to wish to take from her small pittance to add to his own great abundance.

Here the Solicitor-General was stopped by Mr. Dunning, who proved that

Mrs. Fraser's fortune in England and in the East-Indies, was upwards of 24,000*l.* The Solicitor-General replied, that the fortune in the East Indies could not be ascertained, but his client had suffered most by breaking off the match, as she was to have the disposal of her own fortune, 300*l.* a year pin-money, 10,000*l.* settled upon her, with the house at Fourtree Hill, Enfield, or at her option 5,000*l.* instead of it; in all 15,000*l.* in case of her survival.

Lord Mansfield observed the promise was proved; that certainly either party had a right to retract before the ceremony, and even before the priest; that the plaintiff had proved some damages; and that it belonged to the jury to assess the quantum. The jury, after a few minutes consultation, gave in a verdict of 600*l.* damages, with costs.

Both parties in the above suit have since been married. Mrs. Frazer was married April 16th, 1781, at Edinburgh, to George Buchan Hepburn, Esq.; a gentleman said to be considerably younger than Mr. Schrieber; and in July, 1781, Mr. Schrieber was married to a young widow, Mrs. Harvey, of Holbeach, in Lincolnshire.—*Political Magazine*, II. 653. W. K.

MONTCALM'S RAZORS.—Mrs. Helen S. Peck Harding, a resident of Phelps, Ontario County, New York, has in her possession the razors used by General Montcalm and found in his baggage. The handles are of ivory, and the blades, three in number, of extremely fine steel, are so arranged as to fasten in a steel grooved back when in use.

CLEW GARNET.

CROMWELLS IN AMERICA.—It was stated by an English writer in 1787, that "at this day there is in being a branch of the Protector's family residing in the County of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, which went over to America at the Restoration. They still retain the Christian name of Oliver." PLUS.

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THE SENECA FORT.—Referring to the article by Mr. George Geddes in the September number of the Magazine, on the French Invasion of the Onondagas, we extract, for the benefit of our readers interested in this local study now attracting so much attention, the following paragraph from Parkman's *Life of Frontenac* just published:

"The researches of Mr. O. H. Marshall of Buffalo, have left no reasonable doubt as to the scene of the battle and the site of the neighboring town. The Seneca ambuscade was on the marsh, and the hills immediately north and west of the present village of Victor, and their chief town called Gannagaro, by Denonville, was on the top of Boughton's Hill, about a mile-and-a-quarter distant. Immense quantities of Indian remains were formerly found here, and many are found to this day. Charred corn has been turned up in abundance by the plough, showing that the place was destroyed by fire. The remains of the fort burned by the French are still plainly visible on a hill, a mile-and-a-quarter from the ancient town. A plan of it will be found in Squier's *Aboriginal Monuments of New York*. The site of the three other Seneca towns destroyed by Denonville, and called Totiakton, Gannondata, and Gannongarae,

can also be identified. See Marshall in *Collections N. Y. Hist. Soc.*, 2d Series, 11.

Indian traditions of historical events are usually almost worthless, but the old Seneca Chief, Dyu-ne-ho-ga-wah, or John Blacksmith, who was living a few years ago at the Tonawanda reservation, recounted to Mr. Marshall with remarkable accuracy the story of the battle, as handed down from his ancestors who lived at Gannagaro, close to the scene of action. Gannagaro was the Cenagorah of Wentworth. Greenalgh's *Journal*. The old Seneca, on being shown a map of the locality, placed his finger on the spot where the fight took place, and which was long known to the Senecas by the name of Dya-go-di-yu or 'The Place of a Battle.' It answers in a most perfect manner to the French contemporary descriptions."

Our readers will also be glad to learn that General John S. Clark of Auburn, is about to publish an illustrated volume containing the result of his investigations in the Mohawk Valley, by which he claims to have identified all the ancient castle sites concerning which there has been so much mystery.

EDITOR.

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THE FAMILY OF BACHE.—In the November number of the Magazine in a sketch under this title the name of the mother of Theophylact and Richard Bache was given as Blyckenden. This we are assured by her great grand-son William Duane, Esq., of Philadelphia is incorrect. Her maiden name was Blechynden.

EDITOR.



QUERIES

A CURIOSITY OF THE AMERICAN PRESS.—Mackenzie, in his sketch of Upper Canada, makes the following statement: "I have now in my possession a newspaper, the paper for which was made at the Falls of Niagara; the first side composed and printed off by an American and an Irishman, at Lewiston, in the United States, on the south bank of St. Lawrence; and the second side set up and pressed off in Queenston, Upper Canada, on the northerly bank of that river. The number so printed was afterwards published and issued at York, north of Lake Ontario, and is probably the only newspaper sheet that was ever printed in two nations. In those days there was no duty on paper, no stamps, no security against libel beforehand; the press was free."

Can any of your readers furnish any further particulars of this curiosity of the American press? W. K.

SCHUYLER FAMILY.—What relation (if any) was there between Gen. Philip Schuyler of Revolutionary memory and Capt. Philip Schuyler who died at Schenectady on the 23d May, 1725, leaving a widow, Catharine Schuyler?

RIP VAN DAM.

RICHARD B. DAVIS.—The following obituary notice appeared in the newspapers of August, 1804:

"Died suddenly, at Brunswick, New Jersey, in the 63d year of his age, Mr. Richard Davis, formerly an auctioneer of New York city, and father to the late eccentric genius Richard B. Davis."

I desire information in regard to Richard B. Davis, and why he was termed an "eccentric genius?" TRENTON.

MRS. THEODOSIA BARRIFF.—A very interesting trial took place in the Court of King's Bench, London, April 17, 1802, where Mrs. Theodosia Barriff appeared as plaintiff; she is described in the report, as the widow of an officer who had served with reputation and bravery in the American war, and as the daughter of a distinguished American loyalist. What was her maiden name?

BLACKSTONE.

FREDERICK FRELINGHUYSEN OF NEW JERSEY.—What office and rank did Frederick Frelinghuysen of New Jersey hold at the battles of Trenton and Princeton? He was not in command of Eastern Co. of Artillery, for Daniel Neil, who was killed at Princeton, was made Captain, May 9, 1776. A. G.

REPLIES

WASHINGTON'S MASONIC PORTRAIT. (I. 451, 576.) I. C. is surely in error in stating that Williams' Masonic portrait of Washington was not taken from life. Such an inference *might* be drawn from G. W.'s letter about Williams in which he says he refused "to see him *again*." But the old records of Alexandria Lodge No. 22, of Alexandria, Va., show, under date of August 29, 1793, that Mr. Williams offered to present to the Lodge a portrait of Washington, "provided the Lodge make application to the President" for a sitting: and the Lodge prepared an address, signed by the officers, to be

immediately forwarded "to our illustrious Brother," the President of the United States. Did Washington, *who was a Past Master* of the Lodge, decline to sit to Williams? If he did the Alexandria Lodge has been, for eighty-four years, laboring under a marvellous delusion.

The same records for October 25, 1794, state that the portrait was received, and that fifty dollars were paid to Williams to cover his expenses in going to and returning from Philadelphia. The records also say that in November, 1794, Williams applied for "further Compensation." His application was laid over. In December, 1794, it was acted on, and the records say, "the Lodge consider the fifty dollars paid Mr. Williams a mere gratuity, *inasmuch as application was made to the President to sit for his portrait*, at the request of Mr. Williams, who proposed, *should the application be successful*, to compliment the lodge with his portrait." The Lodge therefore refused "further compensation." On the back of the portrait in William's handwriting is the following: "His Excellency, George Washington, Esquire, President of the United States, Aged 64. Williams, *Pinxit ad vivum*, in Philadelphia, September 18, 1794."

Your correspondent is again in error in his reply to my statement. His error doubtless arises from a misunderstanding of the President's reply to the Rev. Mr. Snyder, Sept. 25, 1798. Snyder wrote G. W. to use his influence to prevent the Illuminati "corrupting the brethern of the *English* Lodges over which you preside." The President in his reply expresses his desire "to cor-

rect an error you have run into of my presiding over *English* lodges in this country. The fact is I preside over none, nor have I been in one more than twice within the last thirty years." The reference here is, without doubt, to English Lodges holding Charters from the G. L. of Great Britain, of which there were then many, and not to American Lodges—for Washington did not only frequently enter American Lodges, but did preside over one.

The records of Alexandria Lodge No. 22, Va., May 29, 1788, state that having determined to seek a charter under the G. L. of Virginia, of which *Edmund Randolph* was Grand Master (having previously held charter from the G. L. of Penna.), "the Lodge proceeded to the appointment of a Master and Deputy Master to be recommended by the G. L. of Va., when George Washington, Esq., was unanimously chosen Master; Robt. McCrea Deputy Master, etc."

"Ordered that Bro's McCrea, Hunter, Allison and Powell wait on General Washington and enquire of him whether it will be agreeable to him to be named in the charter." His consent was certainly obtained, as the records of November 22, 1788, contain the letter to the G. L. of Va., the last paragraph of which says: "It is the earnest desire of the members of this Lodge, that our Brother George Washington, Esq., should be named in the charter as Master of the Lodge." Governor Randolph issued the charter, which is now in possession of the Lodge, appointing "our illustrious and well-beloved Brother George Washington, Esquire, late General and Com-

We have elsewhere placed on record our entire dissent from the one sided, narrow view taken of the part of General Gates in the famous campaign which, assumed by him at its most critical stage, he conducted by skill, foresight and with the precision of mechanism to its triumphant close. We shall not review this contest. From what we have seen of the Schuyler and Gates correspondence, and the judgment formed of their personal relations to each other, we should say that either of them would view with wonder their pictures as drawn by historians. We believe firmly in the organizing faculty, the unselfish devotion and ardent patriotism of Schuyler, and as firmly in the administrative ability, calm method and admirable military skill of Gates.

Of Arnold, the less said the better. In this campaign, whatever his merits in others, he neither displayed military skill nor manly virtues. His courage was crazy frenzy.

Mr. Stone is a pains-taking, industrious author, but his conclusions must be taken with several grains of allowance. We have heard it said that Schuyler should have worn Gates' laurels. It was not, we are willing to admit, his own fault that he did not. A combination of circumstances had destroyed his efficiency and made a change in the Northern Department an imperative necessity. *Schuyler himself admitted that necessity.* Gates it is claimed found the grain of glory ready for his reaping; however, no reaping operation was ever more scientifically performed. We believe that it has been left for Mr. Stone to assert that "the incapacity of Gates was manifest from the time of his assuming the command of the northern army until the surrender!" We need not add another word.

MAINE—HER PLACE IN HISTORY.

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION, PHILADELPHIA, NOVEMBER 4, 1876, by JOSHUA L. CHAMBERLAIN. Published by order of the Legislature of Maine, February, 1877. 8vo, pp. 108. Augusta. 1877.

This interesting address is edited and published in a most creditable manner. It is illustrated with the Coast Survey chart of the soundings of the Gulf of Maine, and several maps. I. Of aboriginal America, showing the distribution and territorial limits of the Indian nations in the New World. II. Voyage and discovery, 986-1067, A. D., showing the course of the different voyages. III. Of the English grants, 1606-1732, A. D. IV is missing in the copy before us. V. The United States at the close of the Revolution; treaty of 1783. VI. The United States, 1877. VII. The territorial growth of the United States, 1780-1877, and lastly an outline map, showing the discoveries and early names of localities, with other valuable information.

The author asserts with no uncertain sound the

claim of Maine to priority of importance over her Plymouth neighbor, and tells us that "years before the Pilgrim set foot on Plymouth sands there were established English settlements at various points on the shores of Maine; that Pemaquid was a seat of trade and of government, and at one time the metropolis of all the region east of New York," and further that the Plymouth colony took its title and tenure from Maine, and the city of Georgiana, founded in 1641, the site of the present town of York, was the first incorporated city in America. Notwithstanding this and many other claims to high honor, General Chamberlain admits "that Maine has no history the dignity of which is conceded, and hardly a place among the recognized factors of the nation's destiny," and proposes reasons for this obscurity. We mourn the fact, and are glad that so strong hand is raised to reclaim for Maine some of the laurels her powerful neighbor has interwoven in her own chaplet. Passing from these considerations of the author, we find a concise account of the early discoveries, the priority in which he assigns to the Celts and Scandinavians, Irish chieftains having already taken possession of Iceland before the Northmen appeared there, 860, and we quote from the General's own words, Madoc, Prince of Wales, having large dealings with these western shores in 1170. To Champlain and Ferdinando Gorges is ascribed the glory of setting in motion the great powers that were to contend for the mastery of the New World. The beginning of the Popham colony and its disasters are narrated. Gorges, the Lord Palatine of the Maine Province, is Maine's cherished hero, and receives due justice in these pages. The conduct of Massachusetts to Maine is carefully and impartially handled. We find the reasons for the disposition of those neighboring colonies "who were wont to trot after the Bay Horse" to kick out of the traces. Mr. Chamberlain does not attempt to defend the intolerance of the stern old Commonwealth. The people sought the wilderness to live according to their own ideas, and they were willing that the world outside should do likewise, so long as they did not interfere with their ideas. The final pages describe the progress of Maine in industry and agriculture. He explains the reasons of many of her disappointments, and bids her people to look to husbandry as their true resource. We doubt whether in these days of easy rapid travel men will not prefer to farm that wondrous western soil, which is so generous to the tiller, in preference to the best of New England. Chief among her honors, the claim is made that Maine leads the sisterhood in the race for education. This may be true, but comparisons which do not take into account the emigration statistics of the Middle States are not of much value.

Maine has moral virtues, among which gratitude is not wanting, and this she owes to the

accomplished gentleman who has so well performed his allotted task and set his State right on the Centennial record.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF LIVING

OLD MEN OF THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. In six volumes. By E. B. CRISMAN, D.D. Vol. I. 16mo, pp. 132. St. Louis, Missouri.

The reverend author announces his purpose in these biographical sketches to be to promote reading in his church, to afford examples of Christian piety in the lives he describes, and to preserve for the historian denominational history that might be otherwise lost. Biography is certainly a valuable adjunct to history, and supplies many a link to the chain of truth. Some of the subjects of these sketches were born in the last century. All Ministers or ruling elders, they have carried the doctrine of the Presbyterian church to extended sections of the United States. The names of Drs. Beard and Dillard of Tennessee, Bone of Alabama, McGee King of California, Pierson of Arkansas, and Means of Texas are familiar and well-known names in their several fields of labor. The sketches are simple and purely biographical.

UNE COLONIE FÉODALE EN AMÉRIQUE (L'Acadie, 1604-1700), par J. RAMEAU. 16mo. pp. 367. DIDIER & CIE, Paris, 1877.

A FEUDAL COLONY IN AMERICA. (ACADIA, 1604-1700.) For sale by F. W. CHRISTERN, New York.

This volume is a valuable contribution to the history of Canada, a rich field which daily attracts new reapers. The colonization of Acadia or Nova Scotia, as the English have since named the peninsula, was effected under conditions different from those which we find in any other American settlement. The original grant in 1603 to the Sieur de Monts, was of exclusive privilege to trade along the coast as low as the fortieth degree. With the title of Vice Admiral he set sail from Havre de Grace in the spring of 1604. He built a fort on the island of St. Croix, passed the winter there with considerable suffering and loss of men, and in the spring was joined by the Sieur de Pont-Grave, from Honfleur, with recruits, and together the next year they founded Port Royal, which M. de Monts conveyed as a *fief* to the Sieur de Poitracourt, who begun the establishment of an agricultural colony. This was the first of the feudal tenures, of which numbers still remain in Canada. The post of Port Royal passed in 1632 into the hands of a new French colony of forty families, led thither by M. M. de Razilly and d' Aulnay. In 1710,

when Acadia fell into English hands, the population of the parish reached 2,000 souls; in 1750, left undisturbed by their English conquerors, without new additions from Europe, it had risen to 4,000. This increase alarmed the English. The French villages were surrounded by the New England militia in 1775, and a barbarous *deportation*, familiar through Longfellow's beautiful pastoral, carried off 10,000 of this simple, agricultural people. Later some of these returned from their forced emigration, not exceeding 2,500 in all, from whom is descended the French population which in 1871 was counted at 87,740 souls. We will not follow the account of the feudal attributes of this early colony, which the author describes with evident affection. His views are not of to-day, but we dissent again as before from the opinion expressed that the semi-feudal colonization of the French could ever have kept pace with the individual and restless activity of their English neighbors. What the result might have been had the French seized the middle country instead of occupying bays and rivers which were always ice-bound in winter it is useless to enquire. The secret of their failure may have been in this want of practical common-sense. But we question the taste of M. Rameau in calling Franklin "a mortal and hypocritical enemy of the French name," when he ascribes to him extreme clear-sightedness in his famous declaration of 1755, that "until Canada was conquered there would be neither peace nor repose for the thirteen colonies." Surely there was no *hypocrisy* in this declaration. The English reader will smile at the author's opinion that the reunion of Canada to France after the American revolution would have been the destruction of the United States. This is "chauvinism" pure and simple.

BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER. AN ORATION DELIVERED ON THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EVENT, OCTOBER 17, 1877, AT SCHUYLerville, N. Y., by GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS. 8vo, pp. 27. BAKER & GODWIN, New York, 1877.

Everything that comes from the pen of this scholarly and accomplished gentleman is worthy of perusal. This was in every sense an oration, and was eminently suited to the patriotic occasion, which will be long remembered as the historic ground of old Saratoga. Our readers will not expect to find calm historic treatment in the warm passages which were met with applause by the hearers. Mr. Curtis has accepted the current popular traditions and woven them into the pageant he has drawn with his usual consummate and dramatic skill.

THE BURGOWNE CAMPAIGN. BEMIS' HEIGHTS, SEPT. 19 AND OCT. 12th. HAUVER ISLAND AND ITS FORTIFICATIONS, by H. C. MAINE, A. M. Illustrated with pen drawings by BRUCLAND. 8vo, pp. 51. Troy Whig Pub. Co., Troy, 1877.

This is a curious little addition to the history of the famous campaign of 1777, which originated, as its author informs us, in a desire to search out and record the history of the occupation by the Americans of Hauver and Van Schaick's Islands, at the sprouts of the Mohawk. The illustrations are by the photo-electrotype process, which is quite satisfactory for the style of illustration such a pamphlet needs. The curious will find sketches of cannon and howitzers, coats of arms and other relics, which come out very well, while the portraits are below mediocrity.

There are some statements which at this season should not be allowed to pass unrefuted. Of these is the assertion that Gates in his report of the action of the 12th, "*barely mentioned Arnold and Morgan.*" On the contrary, notwithstanding the insubordination and insolence of Arnold, Gates magnanimously mentioned his gallantry and wound, and gave special praise to Morgan's riflemen and Dearborn's light infantry.

REPORT OF THE NEW JERSEY COMMISSIONERS OF THE CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION, printed by authority. 8vo, pp. 423. Trenton, N. J., 1877.

An admirably arranged and well printed volume, being the official report of the showing of New Jersey at the great American Fair. New Jersey took early part in sympathy and aid of her neighbor, the legislature voting one hundred thousand dollars to be invested in Centennial stock. The State Commission raised and disbursed \$22,763.73 in addition for the New Jersey Hall. The number of exhibitors from the State was 502, represented by 32,816 articles, and displayed at a cost of \$188,013. It is to be regretted that the other States have not been as thorough in their reports. The volume contains an account of exhibits and of the awards of merit assigned.

PANOLA; A TALE OF LOUISIANA. BY Mrs. SARAH N. DORSEY. 16mo, pp. 261. T. B. PETERSON & BRO., Philadelphia, 1877.

The reader will find in this romance, which is of the sensational class, some interesting sketches of life in the Southwest just prior to the breaking out of the civil war. There is an excellent field for observation and drawing of character in the mixed races, the Mulatto, and

Indian half-breeds, of part white and of part negro parentage. Some of these are well treated here, and the authoress shows her knowledge of their peculiar natures. Panola, the heroine, is part Cherokee, part Dutch. Natika, her rival, part Greek, part French. "Much married Lizbette," who had buried eight husbands [in oblivion], a French mulatto. In the chapter named after her are some nice appreciations of the *morale* of the mulatto race. Mrs. Dorsey assigns to them the passions and appetites of the African, with the astuteness and viciousness of the white race. This is more true of the amalgamation with the Saxon than the French; the latter type has much more amenity and is much truer in its attachments and ties, particularly those formed with the white race.

THE EARTH AS MODIFIED BY HUMAN ACTION. A NEW EDITION OF MAN AND NATURE. By GEORGE P. MARSH. A new and revised edition. 16mo, pp. 674. SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG & CO., New York, 1877.

These profound researches, philosophic deductions and ingenious speculations by analogic process, as to the future physical condition of the globe under the treatment it is experiencing at the hands of mankind, are too famous to require any more than a passing mention. They will always remain an authority on this curious subject. The final chapter "on the great Physical changes proposed to be accomplished by the art of man," to use the author's words, is that which is most valuable to the general reader. The recent famine in India, ascribed to the neglect of the British Government to carry on the ancient works of irrigation, which made its plains fertile, and is an apt illustration of one of Mr. Marsh's theories. The completion of the cutting of the Isthmus of Suez, which received his approbation when he wrote his work in 1863, demonstrates the practical correctness of his judgment. The index to this volume is admirable in arrangement and detail.

THE WORKS OF EDGAR ALLAN POE. In four volumes. 12mo. W. J. WIDDLETON, New York, 1876.

THE LIFE AND POEMS OF EDGAR ALLEN POE. A new memoir by E. L. DIDIER and additional poems. 12mo, pp. 305. W. J. WIDDLETON, New York, 1877.

Mr. Widdleton has done literature a service in putting in a compact form the works of this eccentric and talented author. Mr. Ingram, in his memoir to the four volume edition, first called attention to the injustice done to Poe by Dr.

Griswold; Mr. Didier has taken the same more generous view of his character, and prints a long introductory letter by Sarah Helen Whitman, Poe's most consistent defender. That his life was one of miserable self-indulgence, in which his intervals of self-control were also miserable because of the wretchedness he brought upon those who loved him, is too well known to be kept secret. His poems, most strongly marked by individuality, are evidences of his deformed mental and moral condition.

“THE DOLLAR OF OUR FATHERS”—

MOVEMENT OF SILVER. Speech of SAMUEL B. RUGGLES, Chairman of the Committee of the New York Chamber of Commerce on International Coinage before the Convention of the American Bankers' Association, held in the City of New York, September 13, 1877. Published for the information of the Chamber. With Supplemental Historical Notes. 8vo, pp. 16. Press of the Chamber of Commerce, New York, 1877.

An extremely valuable paper from the best authority in this country on this and kindred subjects. Its purpose is to throw light upon the silver question, which is now the one important subject in national discussion. The great perturbations in the value of this metal have attracted general attention, while the proposal to make a metal of such fluctuating value a legal tender has aroused an alarm as general. The probable necessity of great public works of irrigation in India, which will require the use of large amounts of silver coin, introduces a new and important element into this problem, on which our national prosperity may for a long time depend. The United States can supply the silver if the English will be our factors in its distribution. The interest of both countries is in a common accord. This pamphlet of Mr. Ruggles is the last of the contributions of his broad and prophetic mind to a branch of science which, simple in itself, has been muddled by the absurd theories of those who confuse finance with banking, and subordinate all other interests to the privilege of issuing currency.

THE HISTORICAL SUCCESSION OF MONETARY METALLIC STANDARDS. Reviewed by ROBERT MOXON TOPPAN, of New York, in a letter to the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York on International Coinage, printed for the use of the Chamber. 8vo, pp. 18. Press of the Chamber of Commerce, 1877.

A concise and comprehensive view of the leading

facts presented in the monetary systems of Asia, Europe and America in a period extending over twenty-five hundred years. At the very outset we find the interesting statement that as far as researches have been made the three metals have never been of equal value, but preferred as now, in the order of gold, silver and copper. The superiority of gold is thus established by the common consent of men, and in all ages. The investigation then shows to us how gold has gradually asserted that superiority and become the sole unit of value. Gold was the standard in Asia Minor from 800 B. C. for four centuries; silver, auxiliary. Silver was the sole standard in Greece for a long period; gold came in with the conquest of Persia; a double standard prevailed under the successors of Alexander, while gold became the sole standard of the Roman Empire.

The history of Europe since the Middle Ages is a repetition of what preceded the breaking up of western civilization—a gradual progress towards gold as a single standard. These are interesting facts. We also notice the statement that the decimal system prevails over nearly the whole civilized world except Great Britain, which as usual stands in the way of all progress that does not originate with herself, while Germany, in her hatred of France, resists with equal pertinacity the adoption of the admirable units and subdivisions which prevail in France.

HISTORY OF THE PROGRESS OF POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM 1790 TO 1870. By EDWARD JARVIS, M. D., President of the American Statistical Association. 8vo, pp. 16. BAIRD, CLAPP & SON, Boston, 1877.

This pamphlet was prepared for the eighth session of the International Statistical Congress held at St. Petersburg in 1872. The preparation of such tables is a thankless task, but they are of great value for philosophic deductions, and their authors deserve the thanks of the public.

CENTENNIAL OFFERING. REPUBLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLES AND ACTS OF THE REVOLUTION IN AMERICA. Dedicated to the young men of the United States fifty-four years ago by the late HEZEKIAH NILES, editor of the Weekly Register. 8vo, pp. 522. A. S. BARNES & Co., New York, Chicago and New Orleans, 1876.

The name of Hezekiah Niles will always be affectionately remembered by students of American history for his invaluable *Register*, which noted the daily occurrences of interest in the United States for a period of a half century. A correspondence in that periodical in 1816 suggested

the compilation of this volume, which was issued at Baltimore in 1822 in an edition which was rapidly exhausted, and has lately become so rare that a new edition was called for by many of our most distinguished statesmen and citizens. In pursuance of their request Mr. Samuel V. Niles, grandson of the original compiler, prepared the present volume for the press, thoroughly revising and classifying the contents under the respective colonies and in chronological order, with a good index.

CARICATURE AND OTHER COMIC ART IN ALL TIMES AND MANY LANDS. By JAMES PARTON. With 203 Illustrations. 4to, pp. 340. HARPER & BROTHER, New York, 1877.

In this volume are gathered together a series of articles, prepared by this popular and entertaining author for *Harpers' Monthly Magazine*, with numerous additions of original matter. It is an elegant table book of an amusing and instructive character; superbly printed and profusely illustrated in a most creditable manner. Mr. Parton's selections include all that is known of pictorial caricature, from Ancient Egypt to the present time, related in the gay and sparkling manner for which he is so celebrated.

American caricature closes the volume. Mr. Parton considers Benjamin Franklin to have been the earliest American caricaturist, and traces the history of the art in this country from him to our day, which offers so many examples of the power of the crayon upon public opinion.

The Messrs. Harper appear to have spared no expense in the manufacture of this volume. Mr. Parton especially acknowledges their "extraordinary liberality" in this connection. The volume is certain to take an instant hold on popular favor, and to become the text book on this subject in America.

THE UNITED STATES AS A NATION. LECTURES ON THE CENTENNIAL OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE GIVEN AT BERLIN, DRESDEN, FLORENCE, PARIS, AND LONDON. By JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, D.D., LL. D. 8vo, pp. 323. JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co., Boston, 1877.

The United States might have searched in vain for a better representative of its thought, feeling and culture than the eloquent divine to whom we owe these pages. They greatly served to correct the deliberate misrepresentations made even by Americans concerning the condition of public and private morals in this country, and to show to European nations that there are still some who value their birth-right. These lectures—six in number—covering the history of the progress of

the country in the century since the declaration of independence, were received with remarkable favor by large audiences in Berlin, Florence, Paris and London. The volume is published with the usual good taste of the Osgoods.

ADRIFT IN THE ICE FIELDS. BY CAPTAIN CHARLES W. HALL. Illustrated 12mo, pp. 326. LEE & SHEPARD, Boston, 1877.

This little volume, in a form pleasing to youth, presents a picture of the hardy population which inhabit the margins of the great Gulf of St. Lawrence. Books of this character, like Cooper's Littlepage series, have an historical value in their faithful portrayal of manners and customs.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. MEMOIR OF THE HON. JOHN H. CLIFFORD, LL. D. By ROBERT C. WINTHROP. 8vo, pp. 30. Boston, 1877.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF EDMUND QUINCY AND JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY. 8vo, pp. 30. Boston, 1877.

It is the custom of this venerable institution to notice in an appropriate manner the deaths of their fellows. Mr. Winthrop, President of the Society, pays a graceful tribute to the memory of Governor Clifford of the old Commonwealth, and of Mr. Edmund Quincy, the late Recording Secretary of the Society. The merits of Mr. Motley as a historian received the highest praise from his associates, Messrs. Winthrop, James Russell Lowell, Amory, Dr. Holmes and others. His diplomatic career, which has been the subject of so much debate of late, was not discussed.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF GEORGE CABOT. By HENRY CABOT LODGE. 8vo, pp. 615. LITTLE, BROWN & Co., Boston, 1877.

This elaborate volume furnishes valuable material to the student of the history of the Federal period of our history. It is full of original letters of an interesting character, which throw light on the politics of the day. Mr. Cabot was Senator from Massachusetts and a thorough Federalist, and his life is here presented by his grandson from that stand-point.

It is admirably printed and well indexed.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, No. 259, NOVEMBER - DECEMBER, 1877. 8vo. JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co., Boston.

We receive this volume from the editor with the notice that the office of our standard Review has been transferred to the city of New York,

and that it will be hereafter published by Messrs. D. Appleton & Co. Under its new direction it promises to maintain its character and largely extend its influence. In the present number we find articles relating to American history from Parkman, Charles Gayarré, and Charles Lindsey of Toronto, and a collection of opinions on the subject of the Resumption of specie payments.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW. VOL. IV, No. 6. NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1877. A. S. BARNES & Co., New York and Boston.

This Review maintains its popularity. The articles relating to America are upon the Currency Question, Judicial Partisanship, a review of Dr. Mahan's volume on the Civil War and an essay on Motley's Appeal to History by the Hon. John Jay.

AN HISTORICAL PAPER RELATING TO SANTA CRUZ, CALIFORNIA, prepared in pursuance of the resolutions of Congress for the National Centennial Celebration, July 4, 1876, at the request of the Common Council of Santa Cruz. By S. H. WILLEY, D.D. 8vo, pp. 37. A. L. BANCROFT & Co., San Francisco, 1876.

In this pamphlet we find the history of Santa Cruz traced from its discovery, through the periods of exploration, of the Missions, of colonization and of industries. Santa Cruz was incorporated a city in March, 1876, and has a population of from five to six thousand inhabitants. Dr. Willey tells us that it is the oldest city on the Mexican coast, its discovery antedating that of Monterey twenty-four years.

THE LIFE, CAMPAIGNS AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF GENERAL McCLELLAN (GEORGE B. McCLELLAN), THE HERO OF WESTERN VIRGINIA! SOUTH MOUNTAIN! AND ANTIETAM. 16mo. T. B. PETERSON & BROTHERS, Philadelphia.

This appears to be a reprint of the *Campaign* volume published in 1864. There is nothing in it that requires any special mention at this moment. We merely note its re-publication.

THE NARRATIVE OF A BLOCKADE RUNNER. By J. WILKINSON, Captain in the late Confederate States Navy. 12mo, pp. 252. SHELDON & Co., New York, 1877.

The reader will naturally expect to find in a work of this nature, written by an actor in the

scenes he describes, a one-sided view of this subject. The profession of blockade running was certainly full of interest and excitement, but it was not lucrative. Sooner or later nearly every one of the craft fell into the hands of the United States cruisers, and we believe we are not wrong in stating that every one of the English merchants engaged in this unfriendly business was ruined before the close of the war.

BIOGRAFIA DE HOMBRES NOTABLES DE HISPANO-AMERICA. Biography of Distinguished Men of Spanish America.

Under this title Señor Ramon Azpurú, we learn from Caracas, has lately published an interesting work, which serves to complete the monumental work. "*Documentos para la vida publica del Libertador.*" By this name every one will recognize the Father of his country, the Liberator Simon Bolivar.

The volume, according to its "announcement," begins the collection of lives of the illustrious men who have figured on the South American Continent since the year 1810. Commencing with that of Bolivar, it closes with a sketch of General Anzoategui. As this latter was one of the patriots of 1810, the work, although containing more than fifty biographies, has only commenced. There will be many volumes more if the promise of the collection be carried out so as to embrace in chronological order all the regions of the New World.

The second volume will contain biographies of Paez, de Higgins, Palacio, and other notables, who aided in the work of Spanish-American freedom.

MAP OF THE NORTH SEA AND LANDS DELINEATED UPON A CHART IN THE 14TH CENTURY, by ANTONIO ZENO, and as printed at Venice in 1558 to accompany the Narrative of the Northern Voyages of the Brothers Nicolo and Antonio Zeno to Iceland, Greenland, Spitzenberg, Franz Joseph Land, etc., etc., 1380 and after. Fac-simile—reduced size, by the photo-electrotype process. GEORGE EDWIN EMERY, Lynn, Mass., 1877.

BODY OF THE ZENI MAP OF THE NORTH SEA, 1380, exhibiting an original identification of Frisland, Islanda, Crolandia, Podanda, Monaco, Icaria, Neome, Grislada and the Seven Islands (Mimant, etc.)—also the Islands of the Zeni Narrative and the Lost Colony of East Greenland. By GEORGE E. EMERY, Lynn, Mass., 1877.

MAP OF THE NORTH SEA AND LANDS AS KNOWN IN POPULAR GEOGRAPHY, 1877, with an original identification of the Frisland, Islanda, St. Thomas, Podanda and Duilo of the Zeni Map and Voyages, 1830, together with the true locality of the Last East Greenland Colony; also the Hvidserk, Blaaserk, North Bottome, Funderstranda and Western Sea of the Icelandic Sagas, etc., as located from historical investigations, by GEORGE E. EMERY, Lynn, Mass., 1877.

We invite the attention of our geographers to the last of the series, which presents a view of Mr. Emery's investigations.

LE GLAÇON DU POLARIS AVENTURES DU CAPITAINE TYSON RACONTÉES D'APRÈS LES PUBLICATIONS AMÉRICAINES, par M. W. DE FONVIELLE, contenant une carte. 16mo, pp. 302. HACHETTE & CIE., Paris. F. W. CHRISTERN, New York. 1877.

This is a pleasing and instructive abstract of "Arctic Experiences and Captain Tyson's Adventures" published by Harper Bros. in 1874, and of the Government report of the "Narrative of the North Polar Expedition U. S. Ship Polaris," of which we gave a notice in a late number.

THE STORY OF A HESSIAN. A TALE OF THE REVOLUTION IN NEW JERSEY. By LUCY ELLEN GUERNSEY. 12mo, pp. 181. American Sunday School Union, Philadelphia, 1877.

This interesting little story opens at the hunting lodge of Nonnenwald in the Thuringerwald in the fall of 1779 upon a woman in distress at the death of a son, while her husband is serving in the Hessian Contingent in America. The story of the soldier is not put together with much skill, and has less historic treatment than we anticipated, but it is worth noticing as showing the disposition of the day to use every form of narrative to convey moral lessons. In this the interest in centennial history suggests the form.

OUR NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION. AN ESSAY. By JOHN C. HENDERSON, Jr. 16mo, pp. 131.

This essay is well worthy of perusal. It invites attention to popular education as the most important element in the character of a free people. We are not of those who believe that read-

ing and writing are the sum of human knowledge, though no doubt efficient helps to it, and hence do not hold to the theory that suffrage should depend upon these accomplishments. Perhaps, also, the measure of material progress may not always be found in this direction.

We are glad to notice the fair, dispassionate method of the essayist. No comparisons of the United States with foreign countries are yet in order. The large uneducated immigration must be always taken into account. The States cannot well be left to themselves to correct the inequalities resulting from the distribution of this large mass, and Mr. Henderson is naturally found to be warmly in favor of the recommendation of President Grant, that "the States shall be *required* to afford the opportunity of a good common school education to every child within their limits." In this we heartily concur.

MORMONISM UNVEILED; OR THE LIFE AND CONFESSIONS OF THE LATE MORMON BISHOP JOHN D. LEE (written by himself), embracing a history of Mormonism from its inception down to the present time, with an Exposition of the Secret History, Signs, Symbols and Crimes of the Mormon Church. Also the True History of the Horrible Butchery known as the Mountain Meadows Massacre. 8vo, pp. 406. BRYAN, BRAND & CO., St. Louis, 1877.

In a preface to this volume the publishers inform us that this is the genuine *and only genuine* Life and Confessions of this atrocious scoundrel, who expiated his participation in the tragedy of Mountain Meadows, the 23d day of March, 1877, on the very spot where he murdered the inoffensive emigrants twenty years before. For the correctness of this information, reference is made to the U. S. Marshal of Utah Territory and other well known persons.

We wish this revelation may give a *coup de grace* to this revolting institution, and that punishment may fall on those leaders in iniquity who have as yet escaped.

A MEMORIAL OF FITZ GREENE HALLECK. A description of the Dedication of the Monument erected to his memory at Guilford, Connecticut; and of the Proceedings connected with the Unveiling of the Poet's Statue in the Central Park, New York. Printed for the Committee. AMERMAN & WILSON, New York, 1877.

This is chiefly an account of the proceedings which took place in Central Park on the 15 May, 1877. We are alive to the claim of Halleck as a light and graceful poet, but we look in vain

through his works for any reason why a *colossal* statue in brass should be raised to him in Central Park. If such be the honors to mortals, what shall be the measure of the monuments we shall raise to the *immortals* when they leave us for the Walhalla?

DAVENPORT AND VICINITY IN THE WAR OF 1812. Written by published by W. CLEMENT PUTNAM. 8vo, pp. 10. Woodlawn, 1877.

An interesting sketch of the western campaign of 1814, the purpose of which was to establish a strong military post on the British and Indian frontier. The campaign resulted in a series of defeats, which the essayist ascribes to the fault of the commanders.

THE REV. SAMUEL PETERS, HIS DEFENDERS AND APOLOGISTS, with a Reply to the Churchman's Review of "the True Blue Laws of Connecticut," etc. By J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL. Reprinted from the Hartford *Daily Courant*. 8vo, pp. 26. Hartford, 1877.

We have already alluded to the lively dispute over the reprint of the Reverend Samuel Peters' History. This is Mr. Trumbull's argument, which will be found strong and pungent as well.

MS. NOTE ON THE CHURCH IN AMERICA. By WILLIAM WHITE, 1747-1836. Privately published by THOS. H. MONTGOMERY. New York. Easter Tide, 1877.

These are four pages of fac-simile of a Ms. found among the papers of the Reverend Bishop of Pennsylvania. It relates to a controversy which ended in the connection of the American Episcopal Church with the Church of England. There is also an excellent portrait, which will delight the hearts of collectors.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY. No. 3 of Vol. I. Publication Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1877.

We have here in due season an unusually interesting number, the contents of which are too numerous for us to mention even by name. The Journal of William Black, Secretary of Commissioners to unite the Colonies of Pennsylvania and Maryland in 1744, is continued as the leading article, and we also find some interesting notes on the Iroquois and Delaware Indians.

ROBERT MORRIS, THE FINANCIER OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. A Sketch. By CHARLES HENRY HART. (Reprinted from the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*.) Philadelphia, 1877.

We notice this article from the last number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine* to call attention to the *Nota Bene* of Mr. Hart, that he has in preparation a life of Robert Morris, in two volumes, royal octavo, for the completion of which he invites copies of such autograph letters as may be in the hands of collectors throughout the country. We take pleasure in seconding the request of this painstaking and accomplished student.

THE LIFE OF EDGAR ALLAN POE.

By WILLIAM F. GILL. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 315. C. T. DILLINGHAM, New York, 1877.

This is still another effort to redeem the reputation of this eccentric, brilliant and most individual genius from the general impression the world has of him. It is one of the privileges of genius to be the "point de mire" of criticism. Mr. Gill uses sharp edged tools in his literary work.

MONTCALM ET LE CANADA FRANCAIS. ESSAI HISTORIQUE, par CHARLES DE BONNECHOSE. Avec un Portrait et deux cartes. HACHETTE, Paris, 1877. 12mo, pp. 208. For sale by F. W. CHRISTERN, New York.

Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, was born February 28th, 1712, in the *Château de Candiac*, near Nîmes, of an old family that had done much military service. Entering the army at the early age of fourteen, his first campaign was made under the old Maréchal de Berwick. He served afterwards in Bohemia and Italy. He was wounded by five sabre cuts before Piacenza in 1746 while commanding the regiment of Auxerrois-infanterie, where the French were defeated. He married a grand-niece of Talon, founder of the Royal Administration in Canada, and had ten children, of which six were alive in 1752. In 1756 he sailed on the frigate *Licorne* from Brest as chief commander of the French troops sent to Canada, a much coveted appointment. His aid-de-camp, twenty-seven years old, was the afterwards celebrated Bougainville. On another frigate of the convoy was the Chevalier de Lévis, successor to Montcalm, and later Maréchal de France. The newly published History of New France by Charlevoix was carefully studied by the leader and his staff, who landed at Quebec on the 13th of May. 3,800 men came

over at this time, and 1,500 more the year following. Of these 2,200 were left at the end of five years. Montcalm's brilliant attack and capture of Fort Oswego or Chouaguen followed shortly after his arrival, and then his attempt to seize Fort William Henry in the winter, which he made a success during the next summer. It was on the retreat from this place that the massacre was said to have occurred, which Fenimore Cooper in his *Last of the Mohicans* exaggerated, or rather invented, for it appears that no one was hurt excepting some French soldiers who quelled the tumult.

The author then describes Montcalm's difficult position after the abdication of the Governor, M. de Saudreuil, into the hands of François Bigot. In 1758 he repulses the English under Abercrombie from Fort Carillon, afterwards rebuilt as Ticonderoga. Montcalm then desired to be recalled, and sent home Louis Bougainville, his aid, to make a report to the Ministry on the desperate condition of the Province. This was the elder Bougainville, who when Vice Admiral added some notes and an Itinerary from Fort Chouigen (Oswego) to Schenectady to a French translation of Alex. Mackenzie's travels by Castre, which appeared in 1802. The close of the year 1758 brought the bad news of the loss of Fort Duquesne, and the winter was a very anxious one to the French. Bougainville returned with information to hold Canada at all hazards. The result is well known, and is well told by the author. An appendix contains papers relating to the posthumous honors rendered to Montcalm, to the monument erected at Quebec, on which is a statue presented by Prince Napoleon, and dedicated October 19th, 1862. It has also the terms of capitulation, signed at Montreal, September 8th, 1760, and a geographical description of Canada by the Abbé Holmes.

The work is a brilliant and apparently correct sketch of the young French General, whose life closed simultaneously with that of Wolfe, when Canada became the prize of the British. Some mis-spelling of Indians names may be overlooked.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BIBLIOGRAPHY, OR A HANDY BOOK ABOUT BOOKS. By JOSEPH SABIN, author of "A Dictionary of Books Relating to America." SABIN & SONS, New York, 1877.

Those who know anything about this author's Dictionary will not be surprised to find one speaking in very strong terms in commendation of the present work, a practical acquaintance with which is needed. It is the work of a man who regards books with a kind of personal affection, and who knows everything about the subject treated that a life-time of enthusiastic study generally affords. The author does not claim to

have exhausted the department of Bibliography, yet he has done his work so honestly and thoroughly that no one will need to take the matter in hand again for many years. No work of any great importance appears to have been left out; though Mr. Sabin frankly confesses the truth that a complete Bibliography of Bibliography is beyond any one man's capacity. To read the book is in a sense an education, while the bibliomaniac will be charmed with the recollection of the splendid tournaments upon his chosen field which some of the titles bring to mind. The man who buys and uses this book will do justice to himself as well as to the author.

MEMORIALS OF THE DISCOVERY AND EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THE BERMUDAS OR SOMERS ISLAND, 1515-1685. Compiled from the Colonial Records and other original sources by Major-General J. N. LEFROY, R. A., C. B. F. R. S., Honorary Member of the New York Historical Society—some time Governor of the Bermudas. Vol. I, 1515-1652, with map. 8vo, pp. 772. LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., London, 1877.

This will be found a volume of extreme historic value. It is printed and published in admirable form, the entire cost being defrayed by the Colonial Government. The accomplished author has fully carried out the promise of thoroughness made in his preface, and has enlivened the dry pages of mere historic record with many curious details of the life and manners of this colony in the seventeenth century. General Lefroy claims that there is no British colony of that century the records of whose social life are so full, or whose history dates from so early a settlement. This settlement originated we are told in erroneous and delusive expectations, and was embarrassed by the attempted monopoly of the first proprietors. The storm which wrecked the ship which carried Sir George Somers and his companions is held by the General to have suggested, as Malone considered, the title of "The Tempest," but he warily avoids committing himself as to whether the island was or was not the "still vexed Bermoothes" of the immortal bard who converted all things to his uses and made all things his own. The first chapter treats of the discovery (1515-1611) and the shipwrecks; the second of the colonization under the Verjernes Company, 1612-1615; the third of the Virginia Company, then follow the Governments of Butler, Bernard Wodehouse, Bell, Wood, Chaddocke Sayle, the triumvirate, Turner, Trimmingham and Fforster, which brings us to the Proclamation of the Commonwealth in 1652.

An appendix supplies ample local details and a chronological register of events. Two indexes, one of persons and one of subjects, complete this admirable volume.

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WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

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JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

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WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

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We need, also, to understand clearly the conduct of this war, as the immutable condition of knowing and appreciating the character and merits of the men whom we have elected, or may elect, to rule over us, and the wisdom, or unwisdom, which has induced the nation to elect these men to the high places which they occupy.

No free people can become "a wise and understanding people," and as moral as they are wise, unless by their votes they shall fill our chairs of state and representative halls with statesmen,—statesmen "with Atlantean shoulders fit to bear the weight of mightiest monarchies,"—statesmen, too, whose integrity and trustworthiness are as visible as their greatness. None but diminutive bodies can revolve around a small central orb. As long as this nation shall fill our chairs of state with small specimens of human nature, minds characterised by ignorance of national affairs, by greediness for filthy lucre, and indifference to official corruption,—statesmen fit to sustain the weight of the mighty interests of this great Republic, statesmen whose integrity and trustworthiness shall be as manifest as their great talents and wisdom, will be invisible in our Cabinets and halls of legislation. Had I a voice which could command the attention of the nation, that voice should break "trumpet tongued" upon the ear of every individual who is under the weight of the responsibility of the elective franchise; charging him, as he regards the best interest of his country, if he would save our Government from misrule and corruption, and prevent general demoralization, to shake off, at once and forever, the shackles of party, to step out from the circles of party rings, and enter into a solemn covenant with his conscience and his God never again to cast a vote for any man to fill any important office,—any man whose high talents, wisdom, integrity, and trustworthiness are not "known and read of all men." When manifest wisdom and trustworthiness shall become the *sine quâ non* conditions of commanding the votes of the people of this nation, then shall "wisdom and integrity be the stability of our times," and this great Confederacy shall be God's pillar of fire in the forefront of all nations. To do something to ensure this "consummation so devoutly to be wished" has been the prime motive which has induced the preparation of this history.

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Statement, January 1st, 1877.

CAPITAL, . . . \$200,000 00

RESERVE FOR RE-INSURANCE, . . . 44,387 28

" FOR OTHER LIABILITIES, . . . 5,897 71

NET SURPLUS, . . . 135,041 76

TOTAL ASSETS, . . . \$384,956 80

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Total Assets,	\$1,442,445 50

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CAPITAL,	\$150,000 00
LIABILITIES, INCLUDING RE-INSURANCE,	\$4,214 00
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TOTAL ASSETS,	\$263,523 68

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ASSETS,	\$848,237 79

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Statement, Jan. 1, 1877.

CAPITAL,	\$200,000 00
RE-INSURANCE RESERVE AND FOR UNPAID LOSSES,	92,714 58
NET SURPLUS,	157,998 44
ASSETS,	\$450,713 02

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Liabilities, including Re-insurance,	25,191
Net Surplus,	251,538
Assets,	\$526,729

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Phoenix Insurance Co of Hartford, \$2,407,531 39

Germ. Am. Insurance Co. of New York, 2,209,036 18

Lycoming Fire Ins. Co. of Pennsylvania, 5,338,997 31

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CAPITAL,	\$200,000.00
Re-insurance Reserve, and for Unpaid Losses,	92,714.58
Net Surplus,	157,998.44
Assets,	\$450,713.02

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CASH CAPITAL.....	\$3,000,000.00	Net Surplus.....	\$1,008,784.90
Reserve for Re-Insurance.....	1,838,464.68	Total Assets.....	\$6,104,650.82
Reserve for Unpaid Losses and Dividends	243,402.84		

SUMMARY OF ASSETS.

Cash in Banks.....	\$342,311.22	Interest due on 1st Jan'y, 1877.....	\$75,997.65
Bonds and Mortgages, being first lien on real estate (worth \$1,894,000).....	2,011,453.00	Balance in hands of Agents.....	153,416.65
United States Stocks (market value).....	2,517,625.00	Real Estate.....	6,800.29
Bank Stocks,	286,602.50	Premiums due and uncollected on Policies issued at this office.....	8,330.26
State and City Bonds	185,433.00	Total.....	\$6,104,650.82
Loans on Stocks, payable on demand (market value of Securities, \$700,379).....	519,681.35		

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Reserve for Re-Insurance.....	1,838,464.68	Total Assets.....	\$6,104,650.89
Reserve for Unpaid Losses and Dividends.....	243,402.84		

SUMMARY OF ASSETS.

Cash in Banks.....	\$342,311.22	Interest due on 1st Jan'y, 1877.....	\$72,997 65
Bonds and Mortgages, being first lien on real estate (worth \$1,894,000).....	2,011,453 00	Balance in hands of Agents.....	153,416 65
United States Stocks (market value).....	2,517,625 00	Real Estate.....	6,800 29
Bank Stocks, " ".....	286,602 50	Premiums due and uncollected on Policies issued at this office.....	8,330 26
State and City Bonds " ".....	185,433 00	Total.....	\$6,104,650 89
Loans on Stocks, payable on demand (market value of Securities, \$700,379).....	519,681 35		

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I propose, from a standpoint hitherto unattempted, to write out a History of the War of the Rebellion. In the multitudinous works now before the public, all that is needful has been said in regard to the *causes* which led to that memorable scene of "terror, tears and blood," and to matters of detail in respect to our battles and campaigns, and to our unexampled national expenditure. My plan pertains, not at all to the *causes* and *details* of facts as they actually occurred, but to the *conduct* of this war. In this war the nation lost more than half a million of precious lives, accumulated upon its hands hardly less than a million of its maimed and pensioned soldiers, expended many billions of treasures, and has loaded itself down with a present debt of upwards of two thousand millions of dollars. What the nation needs to be informed about is, not how this war was, but how it should have been, conducted, and whether such an appalling expenditure of time, life, limb, and treasure was needed in bringing the conflict to a successful termination. One fact is undeniable, that another such war—a war as protracted and as wasteful of life and treasure—as this would ruin the nation. It is hardly to be expected that our national patriotism, or prudence, would endure such another draft upon time, blood, and treasure, and a doubling up of the debt under which we are now groaning. Yet, amid the possibilities of the future, it would imply infinite presumption to affirm, or calculate upon, the impossibility of another such a national catastrophe. If the war was wisely, and especially most wisely, conducted, the nation needs, as her guides in the future, to understand the facts and the reasons for the same. If, from its beginning to its close, it was badly conducted, as badly especially as can be conceived, this fact also should be known, with a full disclosure of the reasons thereof—that, as a nation, we may become wise and prudent through the knowledge and appreciation of past errors.

We need, also, to understand clearly the conduct of this war, as the immutable condition of knowing and appreciating the character and merits of the men whom we have elected, or may elect, to rule over us, and the wisdom, or unwisdom, which has induced the nation to elect these men to the high places which they occupy.

No free people can become "a wise and understanding people," and as moral as they are wise, unless by their votes they shall fill our chairs of state and representative halls with statesmen,—statesmen "with Atlantean shoulders fit to bear the weight of mightiest monarchies,"—statesmen, too, whose integrity and trustworthiness are as visible as their greatness. None but diminutive bodies can revolve around a small central orb. As long as this nation shall fill our chairs of state with small specimens of human nature, minds characterised by ignorance of national affairs, by greediness for filthy lucre, and indifference to official corruption,—statesmen fit to sustain the weight of the mighty interests of this great Republic, statesmen whose integrity and trustworthiness shall be as manifest as their great talents and wisdom, will be invisible in our Cabinets and halls of legislation. Had I a voice which could command the attention of the nation, that voice should break "trumpet tongued" upon the ear of every individual who is under the weight of the responsibility of the elective franchise; charging him, as he regards the best interest of his country, if he would save our Government from misrule and corruption, and prevent general demoralization, to shake off, at once and forever, the shackles of party, to step out from the circles of party rings, and enter into a solemn covenant with his conscience and his God never again to cast a vote for any man to fill any important office,—any man whose high talents, wisdom, integrity, and trustworthiness are not "known and read of all men." When manifest wisdom and trustworthiness shall become the *sine qua non* conditions of commanding the votes of the people of this nation, then shall "wisdom and integrity be the stability of our times," and this great Confederacy shall be God's pillar of fire in the forefront of all nations. To do something to ensure this "consummation so devoutly to be wished" has been the prime motive which has induced the preparation of this history.

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OCTOBER 1877

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THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

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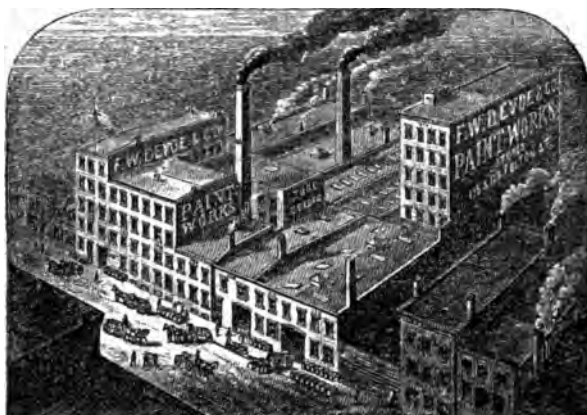
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We need, also, to understand clearly the conduct of this war, as the immutable condition of knowing and appreciating the character and merits of the men whom we have elected, or may elect, to rule over us, and the wisdom, or unwisdom, which has induced the nation to elect these men to the high places which they occupy.

No free people can become "a wise and understanding people," and as moral as they are wise, unless by their votes they shall fill our chairs of state and representative halls with statesmen,—statesmen "with Atlantean shoulders fit to bear the weight of mightiest monarchies,"—statesmen, too, whose integrity and trustworthiness are as visible as their greatness. None but diminutive bodies can revolve around a small central orb. As long as this nation shall fill our chairs of state with small specimens of human nature, minds characterised by ignorance of national affairs, by greediness for filthy lucre, and indifference to official corruption,—statesmen fit to sustain the weight of the mighty interests of this great Republic, statesmen whose integrity and trustworthiness shall be as manifest as their great talents and wisdom, will be invisible in our Cabinets and halls of legislation. Had I a voice which could command the attention of the nation, that voice should break "trumpet tongued" upon the ear of every individual who is under the weight of the responsibility of the elective franchise; charging him, as he regards the best interest of his country, if he would save our Government from misrule and corruption, and prevent general demoralization, to shake off, at once and forever, the shackles of party, to step out from the circles of party rings, and enter into a solemn covenant with his conscience and his God never again to cast a vote for any man to fill any important office,—any man whose high talents, wisdom, integrity, and trustworthiness are not "known and read of all men." When manifest wisdom and trustworthiness shall become the *sine quid non* conditions of commanding the votes of the people of this nation, then shall "wisdom and integrity be the stability of our times," and this great Confederacy shall be God's pillar of fire in the forefront of all nations. To do something to ensure this "consummation so devoutly to be wished" has been the prime motive which has induced the preparation of this history.

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The following articles have appeared during the past year in the Historical and Biographical Departments of the Magazine :

CHAMPLAIN'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ONONDAGAS IN 1615. *By O. H. Marshall.*

THE LOST CITY OF NEW ENGLAND. *By B. F. DeCosta.*

MOUNT WASHINGTON AND ITS CAPTURE, (Nov. 16th, 1776). *By E. F. de Lancey.*

INDIAN LANGUAGES OF THE PACIFIC STATES AND TERRITORIES. *By Albert S. Gatchet.*

THE FIRST SEA-FIGHT OF THE REVOLUTION. *By Com. Foxhall A. Parker.*

MASSACRE AT FALLING CREEK, VA., 1621-22. *By E. D. Neill.*

THE BATTLE OF SARATOGA. *By Ellen Hardin Walworth.*

THE STAMP ACT IN NEW YORK. *By John Austin Stevens.*

OUR NATIONAL FLAG. The Stars and Stripes, its History in a Century. *By Maj. Gen. Schuyler Hamilton.*

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THE FRENCH INVASIONS OF ONONDAGA. *By George Geddes.*

MARTIAL LAW DURING THE REVOLUTION. *By G. Norman Lieber.*

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THE LOCATION OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL. *By Thomas Henry.*

THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY. *By S. N. D. North.*

JOHN ADAMS AT THE COURT OF ST. JAMES. *By E. E. Beardslee.*

DAVID JAMISON, Attorney General of New York, 1710. *By E. B. O'Callaghan.*

PIERRE DAILLE. *By Chas. W. Baird.*

JOHN CRUGER, Mayor of New York, 1757-1766. *By John A. Dix.*

JOHN ALSOP, N. Y. Delegate in Continental Congress. *By John Austin Stevens.*

PHILIP LIVINGSTON. *By Ethan Allan.*

ERKURIES BEATTY. *By J. B. Linn.*

WILLIAM FLOYD. *By Frederic de Peyster, L. L. D.*

WILLIAM SHIPPEN. *By Thomas Balch.*

KEESE-ANA. (two articles). *By E. A. Duyckinck, and Wm. T. Keese.*

ABEL PARKER UPSHUR. *By Mary Upshur Sturges.*

EBENEZER STEVENS. *By John Austin Stevens.*

JAMES W. BEEKMAN. *By E. A. Duyckinck.*

THE FAMILY OF BACHE. *By John Austin Stevens.*

The Original Documents and Reprints have been :

DIARY OF GOLDSBROW BANYAR. Deputy Sec'y of the Province of New York, 1757.

BAURMEISTER'S NARRATIVE OF THE CAPTURE OF NEW YORK. September, 1776.

POEM. *By Thomas Paine.* From the Mss. Collection of R. E. Mount, Esq.

JOURNAL OF COL. RUDOLPHUS RITZEMA of the Continental Army. The Canada Exposition, 1775-76.

NARRATIVE BY THE SIEUR PASTOUR DE COSTEBELLE of the French Expedition of 1705, against St. John, Newfoundland.

DIARY OF HIS WESTERN TOUR, BY MAJOR ERKURIES BEATTY, Paymaster U. S. A. 1786-87. (In five parts.)

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